

DEBOW'S REVIEW!

INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES.

ETC.



EDITED BY D. S. DEBOW.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.

- I. SLAVERY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, by D. S. DeBow, Charleston, p. 31.
- II. THE REPUBLICS OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES, by H. Tuckey, of Texas, p. 120.
- III. MR. MADISON'S ADDRESS, ON THE NORTH AND SOUTH, p. 32.
- IV. NOTES OF EUROPEAN TRAVEL, by J. M. Gilson, of Louisiana, p. 375.
- V. THE VITAL STATISTICS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES, by Dr. DeBow, of New Orleans, p. 475.
- VI. REMARKS ON THE SOUTH, p. 481.
- VII. BANK NOTES, &c., &c., p. 481.
- VIII. IMPROVEMENT OF THE OHIO RIVER, by Mr. DeBow, p. 321.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

- IX. RAILROADS IN VIRGINIA, p. 321.
- X. CONSTRUCTION OF RAILROADS BY CORPORATIONS OR STATES, by J. J. Hendley, of Texas, p. 433.

HOME AND FOREIGN COMMERCE.

- XI. NEW ORLEANS COMMERCE, 1850-'54, p. 368.
- XII. COTTON TRADE OF THE SOUTHWEST—NEW ORLEANS, 1855-'59, p. 363.
- XIII. COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN STATES AND EUROPE, by the Hon. A. Dudley Mann, late Assistant Secretary of State, p. 411.
- XIV. FINANCIAL CONGRESS AT SAVANNAH, p. 425.

AGRICULTURE.

- XV. THE COTTON CROP OF 1855-'56, p. 425.
- XVI. BRANNTOWNS, p. 428.

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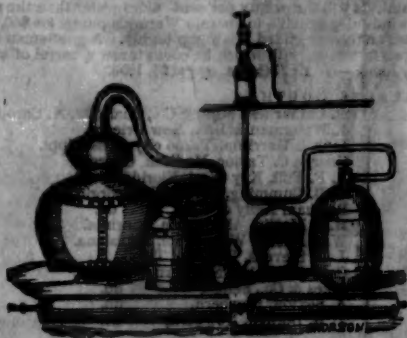


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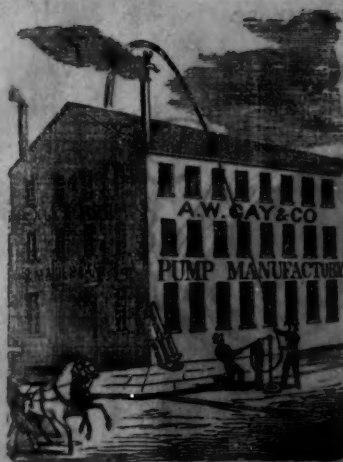
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American Institute Fairs; at the Franklin Institute, Penn-
sylvania; the Maryland Institute, at Baltimore, and innum-
erable others.

The last Journal of the New York State Agricultural Society contains the report of the judges upon the machinery presented at their annual fair at Saratoga, in September. Among the articles mentioned is a pump, which we have used on our own premises, and can therefore speak of it with personal knowledge of its value. Below is the description and award by the judges.—*From the New England Farmer, December 3.*

PUMPS.—A. W. Gay & Co., of 118, Maiden Lane, New York, exhibited a cast-iron pump, called "Warner's Patent Section, Forcing, and Anti-Freezing Pump." Price \$35.

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American Institute, Farmer's Club—Irrigation.—A New Pump.—Mr. West read a letter from Harvey W. Vail, of Islip, L. I., stating that he is using one of Warner's Pumps, by wind power, by which he fills a reservoir that supplies his farmstead with water. The advantage of the Pump is its cheapness, (\$18 to \$25), and durability, and adaptability to wells of any depth. The plunger is so constructed that it serves as an air-chamber. It is also free from any difficulty of freezing. Mr. West also submitted a plan of pump of his own invention. Mr. West recommends these pumps and wind-mills to irrigate lands. He also recommended a double acting water ram of his invention, that is much more effectual in throwing water, and more simple in its operation. He thinks it will throw fifty per cent. more water than the rams now in use. Mr. Brewster says he will make wind-mills suitable to operate Warner's pump for \$50, and raise 200 gallons a minute. Several other gentlemen recommended this pump highly. A gentleman from Long Island said he had one in a well forty-two feet deep, with which he could throw a barrel of water a minute over a two story house, operating it by hand.—*N. Y. Tribune, April 23, 1856.*

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Felix H. Cave, do.
J. Lawrence Smith, Louisville, Kentucky.
Charles F. Fisher, Salisbury, North Carolina.
Jason C. Whitson, Marion, do.
T. Polkett Burgwyn, Halifax, do.
Hallett Garrison, Plymouth, do.
Boyle & Co., do.
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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1856.

SLAVERY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.*

Hailing, as we do, with pleasure, the first number of a new series of the "Southern Quarterly," issuing from the hands of its highly distinguished and talented editor, we must yet put ourselves in arms against a grave error which appears in its pages. This we do with great deference and some hesitation; but believing firmly in the necessity of giving to the public mind a proper bias on such questions, we deem it the duty of each to give his effort, however feeble, to the working out of the truth. We must, therefore, express our strong dissent from at least a portion of the opinions expressed in the article "Slavery and Freedom," in number for April, 1856.

We grieve to find that the writer, faithfully and honestly bold in defence of Southern institutions, has withal fallen into what we consider a most unlucky error, which, as error always must, obtrudes its weakening influence at every point, making the strongest blow fall weak, and blunting the point of the keenest argument. The reviewer has not hesitated to throw down the gauntlet, challenging to the combat the whole body of advocates of a science, among the expositors of which may be found as strong minds and as able reasoners as ever brought logical argument to bear upon and co-operate with facts. That a person of the reviewer's acuteness should thus wantonly, and with an almost Quixotte valor, thus pit himself against a science because that science is not yet perfected, and because its expositors have fallen into some errors, proves an ascerbity of enmity which must be rather the result of impulse than philosophical investigation, and therefore we cannot but strongly hope that a little cool thought, rather than our feeble argument, will rectify those aberrations which we so much deplore.

* Principles of Political Economy, by John Stuart Mill, London, 1852.

It is our object now to show, first, that an error cannot prove a science false; next, that Political Economy, though many of its advocates adopting the almost universal prejudice, have exhibited a strong tendency against slavery, has never as a science pretended to decide the question between it and free labor; and lastly, that a deeper investigation of the question will, in the end, give us the support of that science.

Our reviewer, commenting upon the work of a Mr. Fitzhugh, remarks, (page 65,) "His objections to Political Economy are not sufficiently precise in themselves, nor sufficiently developed, explained, or limited, nor so closely connected with his main thesis, as to prove either acceptable or entirely intelligible. That the truth of Political Economy is involved in the decision of the slavery question, is undeniable; but the implication is only partial, as there may be an opportunity of showing."

We have no knowledge of Mr. Fitzhugh's work, and do not care at present to burden ourselves with its consideration. All we would remark upon in this passage is the acknowledgment, or rather assertion of the reviewer, that the truth of Political Economy is involved in the decision of the slavery question. What does this mean? That slavery being established as a right, Political Economy as a science ceases to exist. Where the truth of a science is involved, its existence is involved. Prove false the postulates upon which a science is based, and the science is non-existent. This, the reviewer can scarcely mean to maintain would be the case with Political Economy, for quite independent of all ideas, whether of slavery or free labor, men have the instinct of accumulation with notions of value and of wealth. And the production and distribution of wealth must be an object of man's speculation so long as he appreciates the difference between hunger and fulness, clothing and nakedness. We might indeed imagine our world as falling into that crass ignorance, which acting only from animal instincts, ceases to investigate cause and impulse, but such very certainly is not what the reviewer means to express. We think he has fairly lost his compass, and did not himself calculate, in penning the sentence we have quoted, whither he was drifting.

Men may seek to dispute and stumble in their search after any truth, but the truth nevertheless exists. Astronomy is none the less a science because the plurality of worlds is a matter in dispute; nor is chemistry all false because the nature of the miasmatic gases continues a subject of doubt and conjecture. What science ever sprang ready armed into the arena of argument, Minerva-like, from the head of Jove, without crack or flaw in its armor of defence? Slow and weary has been the progress of each, and only through clouds of error does

the sunlight force itself at last. He who would catch the truth-beam must watch patiently and long. How many *te deums* have been chaunted for victories never won! How many triumphant eureka's died away in the sigh of disappointed aspirations! How many lips, trembling with the excitement of supposed certain triumph, have felt the touchstone of truth, and hushed themselves in despair, feeling that not yet is their's, the prophet's mission. *Magna est veritas*. Yes, beautiful Truth! great art thou, and magnificent is thy godlike might; but that might worketh not like the lightning-flash, fearful in danger, quick in destruction; but rather like the gentle dew, ever coming again and again—softly, slowly, almost imperceptibly working its great end. Thou prevailest! Ay, like God's love thou prevailest! But not in the sudden flashing beam, not in the crashing blow which annihilates opposition. Rather in that heaven-sent moisture, ever returning, ever beautifying, making the bud to bloom, and the fruit to swell into ripeness, decking the earth in beauty, and teaching wisdom even in the worldless stillness of unwearying beneficences. Slow, though sure, are the victories of truth, and science is but the word which men use to express their search for her. Science is as it were the note-book in which her votaries enter every trace of her supposed presence—every faintest track of her passage. As a matter of necessity they must sometimes err. Other foot-prints are mistaken for the true. Shall the search therefore be abandoned, and sluggard despair cast aside all that has been accomplished, because the result shows some error in calculation? Were it not wiser rather to retrace our steps, and with fresh spirit to the task, to try again and yet again, with the true courage of unwearying endurance, until error is sifted out, and the pure gold rewards our endeavor? Patient investigation is, in such research, our only philosopher's stone. Thus, then, the general condemnation of a righteous thing (as we sustain slavery under certain circumstances to be) by the entire body of political economists, would no longer crush Political Economy as a science, than was medicine, for instance, condemned by the general prevalent errors concerning the blood, before Harvey made known its laws of circulation.

But we contend further, that the question has never been clearly made, nor brought before the bar of Political Economy. The general impressions and vague impulses of the world for a century back, (and in that century Political Economy as a science has found its birth,) have been constantly tending, with a stronger and stronger bias, against slavery. Political economists have, for the most part, followed this general bias; but they have done so as prejudiced men, rather than as political economists; the judgment of the science having never yet

been sought or pronounced. No stronger proof can be given of this than the sentence of Mr. Mill, quoted by our reviewer. Mr. Mill is, the latter remarks, "the highest received standard of the matured views of the political economists in regard to the conditions and relations appropriate to the laboring classes in modern times, and may, therefore, be safely consulted as the most distinguished representative of the advanced theories of the science entertained in England and the European continent." And Mr. Mill, (we quote from our reviewer,) "impersonating Political Economy, has no positive arguments to adduce in proof of the absolute and exclusive righteousness of the free labor system. After a few observations, sometimes acute, usually erroneous, on the effects of slavery, he concludes in not very elegant English, that 'more needs not to be said on a cause so completely judged and decided as that of slavery.' Strange delusion! The world is only now seriously addressing itself to the philosophical examination of the question. Hitherto, it has been content to act precipitately under the influence of philanthropic fantasies, and conscious or unconscious pecuniary instincts, and to decide without investigation. Like Mr. Mill, other opponents of slavery sustain their positions almost entirely by broad assertions, and blind censures, and negative proofs. They have either unsuccessfully attempted to answer the reasoning of Aristotle in favor of slavery, which has never yet been answered, or they have proceeded on the presumption that it had been already refuted." Strange delusion, we grant; showing the strongest prejudice, and resulting in as unscientific a mode of shuffling off an argument as can well be imagined. The author who gives chapter upon chapter to the discussion of the peasant proprietary system, the metayer system, and the cottier system, finds nothing more to say on slavery but this. The cause is prejudged, and he casts it aside as unworthy the attention of that science of which our reviewer takes him as the personification. We beg in this to differ. Mr. Mill is a prominent writer upon Political Economy, but we are far from willing to accept him as its prophet. His work, although classing among the highest on the subject, is far from infallible, and teems with errors. On the question of slavery, he gives us his *ipse dixit*, and nothing more. Surely this is not the last word of science! As our reviewer himself says, the question has been decided *without investigation*; "the world is only now seriously addressing itself to the philosophical examination of the question," and the opponents of slavery sustain their positions "by broad assertions, blind censures, and negative proofs." What better proof that the subject has never met the investigations of science? A question decided without investigation is surely not decided scientifically;

nor shall the noble science of Political Economy be expunged from the category of sciences because its disciples sometimes act, judge, and are led astray by the common passions and prejudices of common men. Mr. Mill, has on this subject, allowed himself to be carried away by the tide of vulgar prejudice and ignorant assumption, and has with a most illogical precipitancy of assertion come to his conclusions. "I think it is so because I think it is so," may, according to Shakspeare, serve as a woman's reason, but certainly not as a logician's, and yet this is the sum total of Mr. Mill's position. We grant that to see prejudice thus :

*"Mistress of passion, swaying to the mood
Of what it likes or loaths—"*

To see passion thus swallowing up reason—to see grave men who should be teachers of something wiser and holier, hallooing on the howl of fanaticism, and condemning as though their's were God's fiat, things of which they know literally nothing, whether by investigation or experience, is enough to rouse the ire of any man who finds himself thus cast aside as some insensate, unreasoning thing, and smiled down with a cool complacency of superiority, when he feels and knows himself in the right, with justice and good sense on his side. It is enough to excite the bile of a philosopher; and yet it can serve us no good turn to give way to similar prejudice. If a man robs us of our purse, it cannot help us to swear murder against him. He who is in the minority, who has the force of social opinion against him, whether that opinion be true or false, must the more carefully look to his armor of argument, and take heed that no flaw or crack be found in it. The blunder which may be past over in the defender of a favorite creed will be conned and commented upon with bitter exactness in an opponent. Our reviewer has unfortunately followed Mr. Mill's example, and taken sides from impulse, without sufficient investigation. From the general tone of his argument we are constrained to believe that Political Economy has never been a favorite study with him, and that he condemns it as Mr. Mill does slavery, rather from prejudice than knowledge. By bringing forward Political Economy as the special champion of free labor, he makes an issue which Political Economy itself has never made. The sin of the advocates of that science is (and it is a heavy one) that they have followed in the wake of this prejudice; but certainly they have not led it. They have joined the cry, but they did not start the scent. Political economists have believed in the propriety or otherwise of free labor, rather as a question of morals than as a point of their political creed, and have adopted it on authorities entirely distinct from their science. It is true they have generally as-

sumed it to be more productive than slave labor; but this is, we repeat, always on assumption, never on proof. The question in its present form is so new a one they are as yet scarcely awake to it. Political Economy is, moreover, almost entirely a European study, and in so far as it has noticed slavery, has regarded it as an exploded system, and as preceding an enlightened civilization. This is a limited, but for a European, most natural point of view; such indeed is, or rather was the slavery of Europe, to which in default of answering information from us their observations have been confined. Where slavery lingers in Europe, it is in process of change, showing the beginning of the end. Ours is of an entirely dissimilar stamp, and the European knows as little of the inferior race of men which it has fallen upon our clime and our day to utilize, as he knows of our swamps and our forests. When by chance some politico-economical argument has appeared from our side of the Atlantic, it has invariably been from north of Mason and Dickson's line, where bitter sectional animosity darkens the question even more than European prejudice. To do our Northern brethren justice, however, they have meddled little with the economical argument, and take much more kindly to higher law and other vagaries. The general error of all, however, on both sides of the Atlantic is, that they treat the question as though the negro were a white man, with a black skin, instead of learning the truth that the complexion of the races, is among the smallest of their differences.

To return to our reviewer; he has made, we say, an issue which Political Economy never did make, when he brings forward free labor as one of its essential beliefs. Adam Smith, although showing a prejudice mingled with simplicity absolutely amusing in some of its conclusions,* has entirely avoided an examination of the subject, and rather speaks of it on hearsay as a thing beyond his ken. As (page 34) after presuming that the expense of slave labor is greater than free, he remarks, "it appears accordingly, from the experience of all nations, *I believe*, that the work done by free men comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves." And again (page 159) "the experience of all ages and nations, *I believe*, demonstrates that the work done by slaves, though it appears to cost only their

* As when he attempted to account for the assumed non-inventiveness of slaves, he says, (page 284, Edinburgh edition 1838) "should a slave propose any improvement of this kind, his master would be very apt to consider the proposal as the suggestion of laziness, and of a desire to save his own labor at the master's expense. The poor slave instead of reward would probably meet with much abuse, perhaps with some punishment. In the manufactures carried on by slaves, therefore, more labor must generally have been employed to execute the same quantity of work than in those carried on by free men." This childish reasoning, if reasoning it can be called, is a mere shoving aside of the question.

maintenance, is in the end the dearest of any." *He believes*, and so he passes on from this merely incidental topic to more immediate objects of discussion. Adam Smith was before the day of continental abolitionism, but he was also before the day of United States negro slavery, nor could he read in the future its great results. J. B. Say has so entirely ignored the subject of slavery that we cannot recollect any reference to it in his work, although we have, to refresh our memory, patiently perused a very lengthy analytical table of contents attached to our edition, printed at Paris 1817.* We have already remarked how Mr. Mill disposes of the subject. These three among the prominent writers on Political Economy will serve as a fair sample of the whole. Do not let us be misunderstood. It is indisputable, that we have been violently attacked, and bitterly slandered by political economists as by men of almost every imaginable grade and profession. We only contend that political economists have so acted not specially and consequently upon their economical creed, but in common with others, and consequently upon an almost universal prejudice. These crude opinions and most lame conclusions belong not to their science, but to the social atmosphere in which they live, and their sin is greater than that of others, precisely because in that science, would they listen to it, they find a truer guide. For ourselves it is sheer madness to throw away our armor at the very moment when we should be girding it on to the defence. This is precisely what our antagonists would desire, and already we can imagine those of them who may have noticed our review triumphantly chuckling over an opponent who just as the fight thickens offers them so palpable an advantage. When in the very heart of a slave State, (a State of which the faith and earnestness in defence of the persecuted cause of slavery has not and cannot be doubted,) a leading periodical takes such grounds as our reviewer has taken, it is the absolute hoisting of a signal to the enemy, and every gun will be pointed at the wavering ranks. That the mistake has been made in the best faith, we cannot for an instant doubt, but it is none the less a fatal error of which the speediest recantation is the

* The only place in the whole treatise, where we can recall even the mention of the word slavery, is in a note (vol. 1 p. 136.) We translate—"But however sacred be the right of property in industrial talent, and in all personal faculties, natural or acquired, it is ignored not only in slavery which violates this most indisputable of all properties, but in many other cases much more common;" and continuing in the text the subject of general violation of personal property, he remarks, "I know perfectly well that the maintenance of social order which guarantees property, must go before property itself, and thus nothing but the necessity of maintaining social order through evident peril can authorize all these different violations of private right." We ask no stronger argument in favor of United States negro slavery; though certainly the author did not intend it as such.

best. To our reviewer, much more a classical scholar than a political economist, we are quite ready to do all honor, and acknowledging our childlike ignorance where he excels, to offer homage to his superiority on a ground where we have often lamented our own deficiencies. But "this honor due and reverence paid," we must hold ourselves none the less ready to repulse what we consider mischievous encroachment upon another. Evidently he is a tyro in Political Economy, and half in play we think, (trying as it were of new weapons,) half in impulsive prejudice, has flung this random shot, whereby thinking to startle his enemy, he has grazed the heart of his friend.

Political Economy, that science which has so successfully struggled against the prejudices of the dark ages of protective tariffs, duties, drawbacks, and the thousand and one shackles which corroded the limbs of fettered commerce—that noble science which, even in its almost infancy the foster mother of nations, extends their brotherhood from zone to zone, and opening to our view the panorama of future ages, shows us a world exulting in the noblest blessings of a christianized civilization, has yet pronounced no judgement upon the subject which now so intensely engrosses our attention. Our reviewer represents free-labor as the principle of this science; but as we have shown this question is yet new to political economy. *Free-trade* not *free-labor* has been her aim; (that these are things entirely distinct, the history of these States for the last quarter of a century fully exhibits,) and it has needed all her energies to fight *that* battle through. Even now she stands with eagle-eye surveying the fields of conquest, breathless in victory, and yet on her guard. Even now as she surveys the rich products of a world daily more and more released from the blundering guidance of an ignorant and selfish policy, she watches for the renewal of attack. "A scotched snake is not killed." The mischievous principle is checked but not extinct.

Slavery, an institution born with society, never attacked until the pseudo-philanthropy, rather than science of recent years, dragged it forward before the tribunal of a sickly new-light philosophy, has, half-stunned by such unexpected assault, hitherto scarcely muttered a word of defence. But this lethargy must be ours no longer. We must speak now, not in hasty declamation, but logical defence. Slavery is truly and fairly a subject for the investigation of Political Economy. The wonderful development of this western continent, effected only through and by the means of slavery—her immense produce scattered over our globe, carrying food and clothing to the hungry and the destitute; her cotton and her sugar sustaining not only herself but the might of Europe's most powerful nations; her

ever increasing expanse of new land opening an asylum for Europe's starving millions, and staving off menaced revolutions; what are these but the glorious results of American negro slavery? a system which it is recently the fashion to condemn, but which must now come boldly forward to claim its true place in the world's development, and it is before the tribunal of Political Economy that it must claim this place, and prove the justice of its cause. Hitherto we have, as it were, played at shuttlecock with the assumed sin of the thing. England has thrown it upon America—America has cast it back upon England—Yankee-land has vociferated, "it is yours;" and the South echoes back indignantly "yours." But this is a paltry shuffling off of responsibility which suits not a great people. Where there is sin (with whomsoever originating) it soils the hands which cling to the ill-gotten spoil. We have been asleep; acting as though in a startled dream. Up! and away with it! sin there is none. Once and forever let us disclaim the blot. No sin! no sin! but land and glory rather. Glory, not to man, the hitherto blind instrument, but to the great dispensing Providence, which shows us this light out of the seeming darkness. The pillar of fire is before us, and we acknowledge the hand that guides.

Nothing is easier than a sneer. Happily, however, a sneer is not an argument; neither can it profane that which is holy, nor change the just and the true into the false and unrighteous. It is the fashion with a certain modern school of philanthropists to sneer at Political Economy as the science of wealth; the science of pounds and pence; the spiritualized Shylock; the distilled essence of that spirit which seeing only what is in the bond, insists always upon its pound of flesh. How our reviewer should have fallen into the category of such declaimers we cannot understand, for certainly he is not of them. These are of the sentimental school, extending from the Wilberforce and Clarkson brotherhood, to Mrs. Stowe, with her black, white, and yellow fraternity. It has been shrewdly remarked, that there are two classes of philanthropists, the feelers and the thinkers. The first showing its most perfect type in such characters as a Howard, a Mrs. Fry, or a Florence Nightengale, (characters whose blessed influence far be it from us to under-rate,) descends in the mass to a set of sentimental Mrs. Jellaby's and Mr. Stiggins' getting up subscriptions to supply little negroes in the West Indies with flannel waistcoats and moral pocket-handkerchiefs, and launching curses and anathemas against all who may venture to doubt the benefit of their procedures. These people never hesitate about the truth of the restless inspiration which pushes them on; they never listen to a suggestion that their new-light doctrines may perchance

be not of God, but of the devil, and set up a howl of indignation over all who hint the possibility of their moral pocket-handkerchiefs doing more harm than good. The thinkers, on the contrary, cool, quiet, calm, stoical perhaps in action, and little given to demonstrative sympathy, have on their side, doubtless, also their pretenders and their bigots; but, likewise, they have their good Samaritans. The first class have a salve ready for every sore, a bandage for every wound, and rush with their ready remedies to staunch the blood wherever they perceive it to flow. The last, of more deliberate action, inspect the wound before they apply the remedy, painfully probe it, perhaps, or open the bleeding vein, and bid the sufferer often rather to bear the running sore than to heal it at the risk of his life. With what propriety shall the first, however amiable under its better developments, may be their ready impulse, exclaim against the last as butchers and miscreants—and yet such is the ground taken by modern philanthropists against Political Economy. Because Political Economy doubts the policy of their proposed expedients, they find no epithet too harsh for its expounders. Because Political Economy asks, doubts, studies, questions, and seeing what appear hopeless ills, seeks to counteract rather than to cure them, searching for palliatives where it fails to find remedies, they pronounce it accursed—Anathema Maranatha. We repeat, our reviewer is not of their ranks. Even the article upon which we comment shows noble flashes of a wider range of thought and aims far more philosophic. We regret the more, that his unlucky precipitance of judgment has forced us, for the nonce, to class him with the revilers of a science whose aim has hitherto been the going about to do good. This science is not the Shylock it has been represented. It is not the science of dollars and cents. But, because it acknowledges wealth as its object, a sickly sentimentality takes fright at the word, connecting always by a strange perversion of ideas wealth with its abuses; as though to look at wine should nauseate with drunkenness, and the sight of food make one shudder at thought of a surfeit. Truly may all the gifts of life be put to an ill purpose; but not therefore shall we despise them all. And if in spite of possible drunkenness and surfeit, we may still honestly eat bread and drink wine and not be defiled, even so may we righteously study wealth, i. e. the means of attaining and increasing our earthly comforts, and yet be guiltless of avarice, extortion, and all uncharitableness. And if innocently we may thus seek our own enjoyment, is it not virtue, is it not christian charity, to seek the best means for the extension of these blessings to others? Is it a crime in us that we should endeavor to devise means whereby that bread and that wine

may be shared with all? Is it a crime in us that we should ask how can this people, this nation, this world of nations, be made to enjoy the greatest possible proportion of these comforts of life that we call wealth? Surely this is christian charity, christian civilization! And this is the end and aim of Political Economy. Political Economy professes to investigate (we take Mr. Mill's definition) "the nature of wealth and its laws of production and distribution, including directly or remotely, the operation of all the causes by which the condition of mankind, or of any society of human beings, in respect to this universal object of human desire, is made prosperous or the reverse." Surely here is space of almost boundless limit, and research of no belittling kind. The constant progress of man from barbarism to enlightenment, from brutality to civilization, from the crass ignorance of the savage, scratching with his nails roots from the earth, and with his teeth tearing the quivering flesh of his palpitating victims, to the highest improvement which science and philosophy have yet attained, all this and more, all progress, all possible worldly improvement, link themselves with this grand object of investigation. To own, to possess, to understand the *meum et tuum*, is one of the first distinguishing characteristics of reason; and in proportion as man becomes enlightened on this point, he rises above the beast. He learns to own, and to permit others to own; he learns to give and to refrain from taking; he learns at once to be generous and just. Moral progress cannot advance but by improvement in physical condition. Improvement in physical condition can only be insured by accumulation of means of comfort—accumulation of means of comfort is wealth. These are truths so trite as scarcely to bear repetition, were it not that these are the axiomatic postula upon which Political Economy is based. Wealth is studied not to put self-interest above morals and religion, not to bid it clash with duty and charity, but to show how all work together in beautiful concord for man's improvement and progress.

"When" says our reviewer, "we see political economists so blinded by narrow aims as to ignore or be ignorant of the more urgent wants of society than those embraced in their special investigations, and also of the real effects of the contrasted systems, we are strongly inclined to apply to their science, especially when the attempt is made to carry it rigidly into practice, the words of the last of the Roman poets:

Blanda quidem vultus sed qua non tetrior ulla,
Ultrices fucata genus, et amicitia dolosis
Illecebris torvos auro circumlinit hydraos."

Now what does this mean? We say that the most urgent wants of society are precisely those which fall under the in-

vestigation of Political Economy. It is essentially the science of society, or as it has been sometimes termed "social science." The contrasted systems of slavery and free labor are now for the first time, as we have already remarked, brought before its tribunal. The attempt has been made to cast us in default and decide against us on the grounds of non-appearance in court. But science is not so prompt in her decision. We have yet time, and it is for us now to speak. It is for us now to show Political Economy in its connexion with slavery. It is for us to prove that the general weal of mankind is forwarded by slavery as now established in America. This has been partially and can be fully done. Proof is rife, it needs but that we learn to use it. In such proof lies our justification. Our reviewer has well said, "the question of negro slavery is implicated with all the great social problems of the current age. Originating in considerations of moral propriety and social expediency, it embraces the fundamental enigma of the organization of labor, and transcending even this wide sphere, extends to the future destiny of the inhabitants of nearly the whole globe. Such a question cannot be too diligently studied. Its comprehensive examination has only commenced."

Strange that a sentence showing so entirely the relation between slavery and Political Economy should be penned by the same hand as the following: "If Political Economy will transgress the narrow limits which are assigned to it as a specific science, and will meddle with questions which concern much higher interests of society than the augmentation of wealth, distorting facts and perverting instruction to minister to the cupidity of grovelling capitalists, we may regret with Niebuhr that there is not a gallows on which it and its apostles might be gibbeted."

What Niebuhr has said on the subject we do not remember, but shall be much surprised if on investigation he is found to have desired so general a gibbeting. We think he surely would have spared us the science, and we on our part would by no means object to giving up to his blood-thirsty propensities a few of the apostles. There are false prophets in all creeds, and true to our faith of Political Economy, we are quite ready for a weeding out of the noxious plants that choke the true growth. But we would here once for all entreat our reviewer to review his own opinions, and to know what Political Economy is before he condemns it, whether Niebuhr has or has not set him the example. That science whose special object of investigation is the well-being of society, and whose aim to point out its sources and the streams that nourish it, surely need not be reproached with its narrow limits. Wide as the inhabited globe, co-extensive with society, those limits can only

be found in man's earthly destiny. Progress, civilization enlightenment, even morals and virtue, are so linked and intertwined with man's corporeal comforts, that it is hard to draw the line where such a science could be regarded as an intruder. Is it needful to remind our reviewer how often, how almost invariably want, hunger, and shivering cold are accompanied with crime and depravity? How constantly and necessarily with brutal ignorance? He may probably answer that it is precisely such depravity and ignorance that he seeks to relieve, and that it is the part of the poor against the wealthy that he would defend. We believe it, and therefore lament that he has thus strangely flung aside his natural ally.

It is the poor and ignorant that Political Economy would assist and instruct. It is the masses that it would sustain against the oppression of the few. It is the wealth (i. e. the means of comfort) of all classes and all ranks, not of a few over-gorged capitalists pampered with Government protection, that she undertakes to defend. To naked and starving nations, blighted under the benighted policy of tyrannical governments, Political Economy came to feed and clothe them. If in so doing, she could show, as she has shown, as she will yet in her future progress more clearly show, more beautifully develop, (for the apostleship of Political Economy has but just begun,) if we say, she can prove that the good of all is irrevocably linked in the good of each; if she can prove (as she does prove) to the purse-proud capitalist that to preserve or increase his wealth, his laborer must be fed, his country and his nation must thrive; or all his wealth, like fairy gifts, turns in his hands to dry leaves and trash; if she can prove (as she does prove) to the hungry laborer, that his bread is none the dearer, his labor none the less in demand, because the rich man is accumulating his millions; that on the contrary, even the most selfish hoarder, hoards for the good of all; if she can prove (as she does prove) that labor and capital are not inimical, but rather working in unison, assistant handmaids each to the other; if she can prove (as she does prove) the truth of all these, at first sight, apparent paradoxes, and reconcile interests hitherto clashing in unnatural and fraternal war, is she not indeed a prophet of peace, the beautiful development of christian civilization? Ever thus she comes before us, the teacher of that most beautiful of christian lessons "help ye one another."

The great error of dabblers in Political Economy (we most respectfully beg our reviewer to understand that we apply this term not to him, but to a class with whom he has no connexion otherwise than by accidental, and we believe temporary oversight) is that they, by a strange misuse of terms, regard this science, which claims to investigate wealth and its causes, as

the supporter of the wealthy and the oppressor of the poor, as though a wealthy nation should by necessity be composed of millionaires and beggars. Nothing is easier to demonstrate (did time and space allow) than that the wealth of the masses, and not the wealth of the few, makes a nation's wealth. Nothing is easier (and it would seem to us that even a word suggesting the idea should suffice) than to demonstrate that a nation of beggars, though mingled here and there with overgrown capitalists, is not a wealthy nation. Political Economy does constantly demonstrate this, and aiming at the wealth of nations, seeks not to robe princes in velvet and jewels, but to give their people cheap bread and abundant clothing. But because it has shown that the same system which brings to the people cheap bread and clothing, gives also to the prince his velvet and his jewels, because it has extended over these supposed opposing interests the wand of peace, those who half study its arguments strangely contend that, because it would better the rich, it must oppress the poor. Let them study it more deeply and they will find that Political Economy encourages not the wealthy, but wealth, wars not against the poor, but against poverty; and surely no sane man will be found to contend that this is an unholy war; that the laborer can be too comfortably clothed, or his child too well fed; that the farmer's cottage is too snug, his cattle too fat, or his land too well tilled. Yet this is what Political Economy teaches us is a nation's wealth. This is what Political Economy teaches us is, at once the wealth of the laborer and the wealth of his employer, the wealth of the prince and the wealth of his subject, the wealth of the individual, and the wealth of the nation.

We have now to pass to the last branch of our subject, and to prove, or at least suggest the grounds upon which it may be proved, that Political Economy will, when properly appealed to, bring the strongest possible arguments in favor of negro slavery. Political Economy, we have shown, is the science which considers wealth and its means of increase. Wealth is not money alone, but all desirable things which may be accumulated and exchanged; which may be lost by one individual or nation and gained by another individual or nation, passing from the possession of one into that of another. Thus individual or national wealth will be found to include all things desirable to a man or a nation which are extraneous from his or its individual or national existence; i. e., all things which he or it can possess, and transfer to another. A man's health, integrity, or industry cannot certainly be called his wealth, but they still fairly fall under the consideration of Political Economy because they are indisputably causes operating upon his condition in respect to wealth, and moreover may perhaps in themselves be consid-

ered as national wealth. They are certainly so, in so far as the man himself may be considered as the property of the nation, to be lost or gained by one or another society, and capable of passing from the possession of one nation into that of another. Thus then Political Economy links itself with religion and ethics; for all that improves man, increasing his power and intelligence, makes him a more capable producer of wealth, makes him the better *wealth machine*. If this manner of enunciating our idea be objected to, as bringing man down to the brute and the steam-engine, let our antagonists remember that we do not degrade man to the machine, but bring every argument (this with the rest) to prove that no man can honestly benefit himself without tending also to benefit his fellows; and that even he of the most selfish and grovelling spirit is the better, morally and intellectually, for his honest efforts to improve his own condition. He is, to speak politico-economically, of higher value to his nation. There are wider and purer motives for action than simple self-interest; but simple self-interest (considering its universal prevalence) does more for the world's progress than any one human passion or desire. It exists in the bosom of every man, and he would be a monster in whom it should not be found. Mingling in some with the noblest virtues, in others with the lowest baseness, it still exists in all, and only is criminal when ministering to crime. It is not a virtue, but certainly not a vice. It is purely an instinct; the hunger of the spirit seeking always to gratify its longings, and exciting to crime or to virtuous effort according to the character and disposition of the individual in whom it exists, precisely as the honest man is pushed by hunger to labor for that bread which the thief in preference steals. But because the thief steals to satisfy his hunger, none surely will argue that hunger is therefore a sin. Political Economy sees in this hunger of the spirit a powerful motive for effort and a powerful incentive to good, except when combining with vice. Then only it becomes vicious, and then Political Economy again siding with religion and morals, declares that vice and crime are injurious, and in their consequences both mediate and immediate degrading to man, incapacitating him as a producer of wealth, and in their nature tending to the disorganization of society.

Thus Political Economy never opposes but always strengthens the decisions of justice and morality. It does not, like the good Paley, commit the terrible mistake, so degrading to humanity, of making self-interest the sole basis of virtue, * but it proves that self-interest is not a vice; that God in giving man instinct

* Such is in truth the only interpretation which can be given to Paley's definition of virtue, viz; "Virtue is the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness."

and desires, made him not a creature of evil, but capable of both good and evil—that if our desires may be corrupted they may also be purified, and that in their purification consists not our spiritual but our worldly welfare. Religion teaches us submission to God and charity to men; ethics teach us justice to men; and Political Economy teaches us that charity and justice are prudence and wisdom. Thus all combine to the same great end, teaching that the good and the wise are one. The institution of slavery must, to prove its innocence, purge itself from sin, before this three-fold tribunal.

The religious side of the question has already been so triumphantly argued, that no man taking the gospel for his guide needs to have it repeated. Accordingly, we find the most violent opponents of the system among the new-light and higher law men with whom any religion, further than the dictates of their own wild fancies, ceases to be even a pretext; and next to them the improved christianity mongers, whose creed is blood and murder, and the gospel according to Sharpe's rifles. In its ethical point of view, the defence of the system which has also been frequently, ably, and we think successfully undertaken, must be based upon the natural proprieties of the institution in particular cases, and upon the relative capacities, powers, and propensities of the men or nations concerned. To those who absolutely shut their eyes and ears to common sense, and insist upon a meaningless formula of words, in opposition to all truth and reason, nothing can be said, and they must go on forever, or until they see fit to turn from their folly, insisting in the face of common sense, common law, and common practice, that all men are born free and equal. But to those who acknowledge a difference in men, different capacities, character, and tendencies, according to race,* and other inalienable natural distinctions; to those who recognize the almost axiomatic truth, that circumstances and varying degrees of development require difference of social position; the sometimes practice and even necessity of slavery can be indisputably proved. It is treading over oft trodden ground to endeavor to show that all men are not fit for all things, and that wherever the Creator's will for his creature can be discovered in the tendencies and capacities of the creature, there can be no surer rule for man's guidance. The universal practice and judgment of the world have assigned to women and children a subordinate position to men. In the women's case this subordination is permanent, as are the constitutional characteristics which give rise to and justify it. In the child's it is tempora-

* We specially avoid here the question of unity or diversity of origin, which can make little difference in our argument. An existing difference in races, which centuries cannot eliminate, is equivalent in practice to perpetual difference.

ry, as are also the peculiar characteristics in him causing its necessity. In either class the rule is general, in spite of exceptional powers existing in occasional individuals, and properly it is so. No general rule can be made to suit exceptional cases. Precisely similar are the causes and proofs of the justification and necessity of slavery in all its phases. The positions of women and children are in truth as essentially states of bondage as any other, the differences being in degree, not kind. They are states of subjection to the supremacy of others, and of greater or less deprivation of the rights of self government. This, the true definition of slavery, applies equally to the position of women in the most civilized and enlightened countries. That there are higher and lower degrees of subjection and deprivation makes no difference in the question of justice, (if either is injustice both are injustice, as it is equally robbery whether I forcibly take from a man one dollar or a thousand,) except in so far as it is necessary that these higher and lower degrees be in accordance with the peculiar characteristics and capacities of the class thus held in greater or less subjection for their own benefit and that of society. The permanent natural characteristics, or the temporary condition of certain classes of human beings, indicate them as fitted for a certain position in the social scale, and as unfitted for certain other positions, and their own as well as the general good of society, requires that this fitness should be considered. The nearer the position of each class can be suited to its capacities, the nearer is the law of nature (that is of God) fulfilled, and the nearer is perfect justice attained. Perfect justice, it is scarcely within man's capacities to attain, and all that can be done by the science of morals is to approach nearer and nearer, (as does the mathematician in the squaring of the circle,) to perfect truth. That system of government, then, and that amount of subjection which is needful to the highest development of the peculiar powers, and to the keeping in check the peculiar defects of any class of men, is the most useful and the most just for that class.

The necessities of each class, race, or nation, can only be calculated from its antecedent conditions and its actual developments. In the case of any society of men which have attained a certain degree of enlightenment, it is a just conclusion that themselves are the best judges of the proprieties and necessities of their case; but when a nation or society is in a condition unfit for self-government and inconsistent with its higher development, often the circumstance of contact with or subjection by more enlightend nations has been the means of transition to a higher development. When two nations, enlightened and unenlightened, are thus thrown in con-

tact upon the same soil, nothing but slavery can prevent the destruction of the weaker race. In those phases of society where the developments of corporeal power are of more value, i. e. more useful to existing society, than mental, (as in the first beginnings of society where it is more important to men to know how to dig that to invent steam engines) the muscularly strong man becomes the master, the intelligent one the slave; and thus the functions of both are best fulfilled. Thus the weaker is protected, (albeit often oppressed, for everything earthly is faulty,) and the stronger aided in the point where he needs aid, i. e. mentally improved. In more advanced stages of society, where mind asserts its supremacy, intellect makes the master; intellect is the true strength, and mere muscular power needs not only the guidance, but the protection of that mighty power which man's intellect teaches him to sway. The savage cowers before the builder of cities, or the inventor of steam-engines and magnetic telegraphs. The thought which commands the elements is stronger than muscle or fibre. Here, therefore, intellect (now become strength) protects, and muscle serves. In either case the weaker people perishes, but for the protection granted by the stronger, and in return for that protection, serves. We do not say that this is done by regular compact. It is not so done; no society is formed by compact. Society is the result of instincts. Brutes and insects form societies as men; men, only by afterthought and progressive reasoning, think of compacts. The existence of society is an inherent necessity to man's existence; what therefore is needful to the existence of society cannot be unjust.

Thus then slavery is sometimes and to certain extents proved just. Political Economy may now be adduced as a powerful adjunct to define its limits, for we are far from granting that it would prove so frequent a remedy for the evils of society as our reviewer's argument appears to us to imply. And here Political Economy must also bring forward the test of utility. That position in which man is of the greatest utility and highest benefit to himself and to mankind—that position in which all his characteristic powers are exerted to the greatest advantage, his deficiencies kept in abeyance, and his faults under check, is by philosophical argument his legitimate duty, his highest interest, and in accordance with the eternal justice of things. The test of the right must be in its results, and surely the tree must be known by its fruits. For although it is very certain that every good deed does not with the exact measurement of good boy story-books, bring its immediate reward, and every ill one its castigation, it is inconsistent at once with experience, and with every idea that man can form of the good-

ness of deity that any regular system of evil can result in permanent and general good. The oppressor of the widow and the defrauder of the orphan, may, in the inscrutable wisdom of Providence, be permitted to revel in his ill got gains; the murderer may hide his bloody hand, and unquestioned of justice, pass through life high in the world's prosperity, but certain it is, that by the test of utility in result, the actions of such men are most injurious to society. A nation of defrauders and murderers could be nothing but a nation accursed, a people degraded to the lowest savagism, a robber band, in truth true Ishmaelites, whose hand should be against every man and every man's hand against them, "curtailed from all the fair proportions" of civilized society, and condemned to unprogressive barbarism. And even in such condition, to prevent an entire obliteration of the species, some shadow of virtue, some good instinct must remain. At least there must linger that proverbial honor said to exist among thieves; there must survive some affection, some pity, some human passion, some virtue in short, or, worse than brutes, every man would be a Cain to his brother.

While, therefore, religion and morals say to us crime is wrong because it is crime, displeasing to God and hurtful to man, Political Economy confirms their decision on prudential motives. It teaches us that what is hurtful to man is impolitic, degrading him both individually and nationally, and checks progress because it destroys all security. Man is constantly aiming at advancement in his social condition, and in this constant individual effort to better himself, so long as honestly indulged, each pushes forward by his own fractional effort the great wheel of progress. Let crime or injustice intrude, and precisely in proportion as these prevail, society is disorganized, men's rights become insecure, their energies flag, lethargy displaces effort, want displaces honest accumulation; man makes for himself a scourge equal to those which Heaven in its wrath has sometimes sent, and as when pestilence or famine makes men insecure of everything but the life of to-day, they seek to enjoy that only, forgetting all else in a kind of reckless madness—"let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die,"—so with the prevalence of crime, "all order dies."

"And one fierce spirit of the first-born Cain
Reigns in all bosoms, that each heart being set
On bloody courses, the rude scene may end,
And darkness be the burier of the dead."

All society in which crime is systematically encouraged must perforce rush more or less rapidly to destruction, and legalized injustice is national suicide.

(To be concluded in our next.)

THE REPUBLICS OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER—HOW MEXICO CAN PRESERVE HER LIBERTIES; AND WHAT ARE THE VIEWS OF REPUBLICANS IN THIS COUNTRY WITH REGARD TO HER—CONTRAST OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

We publish the following article without comment. It was prepared for our pages by a Texan, and although in the form of an address to the people of Mexico, contains material that will interest the reader in either country. Several years ago, Mr. Poinsett, of South Carolina, furnished for the Review a series of papers similar in their view, and discursive of the relations of the two countries. At the present time events are every day making more interesting our connection with Southern Republics.

The effort you are now making, under the leadership of the distinguished Alvarez and Commonfort, to improve your social and political condition, has excited among your friends in the United States of the North a sincere and lively interest. You have doubtless, the most of you, been taught to believe, that the people of this country are your enemies, and are crouching like a beast of prey, ready to leap on and devour you. That this lesson has been often instilled into your minds by your secular and clerical instructors, we can readily believe. They had their reasons for so instructing you, and doubtless profited by it to gain your support and to betray you. If you would yourselves study more, travel more, and acquire a better knowledge of the people of this country, you might have good cause to change your opinions, and to believe that we had more magnanimity and a higher sense of justice than you now imagine.

If you will bear with one who is sincerely anxious for your happiness, he will endeavor to unfold to you the views of the masses in this country, not only in regard to their own future, but yours. At the close of the American Revolution, the United States North, had a population of about three millions, and a territory of 452,884 square miles. Ardent lovers of liberty, they selected the choicest wisdom and purest patriotism within their limits to organize a government worthy of the sentiments of their constituents. Previous to the Revolution, the North American Colonies enjoyed civil liberty to a large extent. They had already learned and adopted the glorious maxims you will find in any of our bills of rights. Herein they had greatly the advantage of your States and people. The vice-regal Government of Mexico, was, perhaps, one of the most unmixt despotisms in the world; your present States, instead of having separate municipal codes, legislatures, and organized liberty, were mere provinces or sub-divisions of an empire, the sole power of which emanated from the palace of the Viceroy. Your scarcely recognized *fueros* were trampled

under foot at the pleasure of the Viceroys. You had never been accustomed to public meetings for political purposes—the right of petition, of bearing arms, of trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, freedom of the press, and of speech, and, above all, freedom of conscience. All these glorious rights were peculiar to the Colonies of North America, and there were few individuals in them but would have parted with their lives before they would have abandoned one of them.

In July, 1808, when you received the news of the rising of the Spanish patriots in the mother country against the House of Bonaparte, when the treaty of Bayonne released you from your fealty to Charles IV., you had an admirable opportunity for gaining your liberty and independence. You had the countenance of Iturigaray, your Viceroy; all of you, except the natives of Spain and the office-holders, were in favor of it. And when you proposed the call of a convention of the people to inaugurate your liberties, and for this purpose had the sanction of your noble Viceroy, you permitted the handful of native Spaniards among you to seize his person, and commit him to the prison of the Inquisition; thus defeating a measure so dear to you. Had such thing been attempted in our country every man, recurring to his original rights, would have overwhelmed the Spaniards, and restored the Viceroy to his liberty, and the convention would have met. Such spirits you may call by hard names—fillibusters, mobs, pirates, robbers, but of such is our country made—stern stuff, not frightened by power, nor diverted from the pursuit of right by tinsel nor priestcraft.

The people of the United States North have ever felt a lively interest in your prosperity. In your struggle from 1810 to 1821, some of the most gallant blood in our land was shed in your behalf. After the treaty of Cordova, between O'Donoju and Iturbide, we were the first to welcome you into the family of nations, and to send a minister to your court. When you were invaded in 1829, by the Spaniards under General Baradas, thousands of our people were ready, at their own cost, to fly to your aid; and had you not speedily repelled that impotent force, you would have seen them coming by individuals, companies, and battalions. And here lately, when a Spanish navy rode before your principal harbor, threatening your safety, the national pulse in this country beat only for your success. Look over the newspapers of the United States—which unhappily so few of you read—and you will find that every attempt made by you to regain your liberties, and to put down your tyrants—temporal or spiritual—has been hailed by us with satisfaction and delight. But a stronger instance than all—when in 1848 our armies occupied your capital and country, there was nothing easier than its conversion into a

territory of the United States North. Indeed many of your best friends, in and out of your country, believed such step would best promote your prosperity and happiness; yet your sovereignty was preserved intact, and though we received a considerable portion of your extreme territory by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, we paid you for it what, in its then condition, was a good round price.

Your papers, and statesmen, including your priests, have been incessantly railing against the United States North, charging her with ambition, usurpation, robbery, &c. They get many of these ideas from the presses of Great Britain, one of the most wholesale land robbers the world has witnessed. Let us recur for a moment to the condition and progress of the United States, since her Revolution, and see whether she deserves this character, or whether a sense of moderation and justice has not shown itself in our councils and great national acts.

You will admit, that it is legitimate and right for a nation, as an individual, to purchase territory. Every nation, as well as every head of a family, is bound to provide for its children. At the close of our Revolution, you may well believe that our love of liberty was ardent; our fathers had poured out too much blood in its defence for us not to cherish it above all things earthly. A consequent sympathy grew up among us for the oppressed and down trodden of Europe. This sympathy was universal, profound, and heartfelt. Its effects was the opening of our doors for immigration to the peoples of the Old World. This invitation caused starving but worthy thousands of God's heritage, driven by a fierce necessity to fly from their oppressors, and find a refuge and a happy home in our free country. Those who came first, beholding the equity and majesty of our laws, the obedience of our people to the Government of their own creation and control, invited others, and yet others; the abundant yield of our rich soil, the facility of living, and the flourishing condition of the citizens of a free country, caused population otherwise to increase wonderfully; so that we soon became a great nation. You are invited look at the figures.

1790	3,929,827
1800	5,305,925
1810	7,239,814
1820	9,638,131
1830	12,866,020
1840	17,069,453
1850	23,191,876

The people of the United States were themselves surprised at such a vast increase in their population; yet the surprise

was agreeable, and devolved upon them the necessity of providing for so large a family. The increase of population and wealth in the Mississippi valley, rendered it necessary that the navigation of that stream should be free and unobstructed to our people. The Territory of Louisiana, covering the lower part of that river, and extending indefinitely north and west, was by the treaty of October 1800, ceded by Spain to France. The United States applied to France, to purchase the island of New Orleans as an *entrepot*. Bonaparte said "no! he wished to sell the whole of Louisiana; and would sell all or none." So on the 30th April, 1803, we purchased the whole of Louisiana, including a territory of 1,599,317 square miles; then almost a wilderness, but now, by our care and culture, laid off into many magnificent States, and peopled by happy millions. Does this look like ambition—when our Ministers wishing to purchase only a small spot on the bank of our greatest river for the landing and shipping of our produce, were forced by necessity to buy an empire?

In this purchase was manifestly included the Territory of Baton Rouge, as will appear by the treaties of 1783, between the United States, Great Britain, and Spain. So when the President, in October, 1810, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, annexed West Florida to the Territory of New Orleans, it was no usurpation of the property of Spain, as she had parted with it by the secret treaty of 1800.

Between the cession of Louisiana and 1819, Spain was in the midst of revolution. She was losing her territories in America as fast as she was losing her respectability at home. She owned East Florida, and with it, claimed the control of the navigation of the Alabama river. The American settlers on the upper tributaries of this noble stream were greatly harrassed by Spanish officers at Mobile. In addition to this annoyance, the Southern Indians received from the authorities and people of Florida arms and amunition, to enable them to harrass the people on our frontiers. We applied to Spain to sell, but she refused. When, however, she discovered that her revolted States in America, of which yours was one, were about to take it from her by force, she gladly rid herself of it by transferring it to the United States, in February, 1819. This added 59,268 square miles in addition to our territory.

Oregon, containing 341,463 square miles, was acquired by us during the first year of this century by legitimate discovery and occupancy.

From 1819 to 1845, a period of twenty-six years, no addition was made to our territory, though in this time our population had more than doubled. Nor were we laying plans and con-

trivances for more, as some of your leading men, at the head of whom was Santa Anna, constantly charged us.

In reference to the annexation of Texas, we will refer to a few well known facts. Soon after the achievement of your independence, you repealed the famous decree of Philip II, by which foreigners were absolutely excluded from the Spanish territories in America. And you went further—in your general colonization law of 1824, you invited foreigners to domicile in your country, promising them protection, the enjoyment of the valuable liberties guaranteed by your celebrated Federal Constitution, and lands for a home and culture. You further provided, that the different States of your confederacy should pass local laws of colonization.

Under the sanction of these noble promises, made we doubt not, in good faith, the adventurous of our country came to settle in your then State of Coahuila and Texas. You knew something of the character of our people—their love of civil liberty, and firmness in its support. They came under the sanction of the Constitution of 1824, and it would have required an entire change of the character and nature of these immigrants before they could be reduced to servitude or be made submissive to the dictation of Santa Anna. When, therefore, by the decree of 1830, further immigration from the United States was suddenly cut off, and those who had come to prepare the way for their friends were deprived of them, when the military in Texas, was placed above the civil power, when, by a decree, but one person only in five hundred was permitted to bear and keep arms, when an attempt was made to overawe them by the presence of a strong military force, when finally by the decree of October 3, 1835, Santa Anna overturned your federal form of Government, converted your States into provinces and yourselves into slaves, the cup of Texas' suffering was full. And though you submitted, they would not. They tore themselves away from a country whose precepts and prospects were bloody and dark. You then, for the first time, came into actual contact with our people. You saw their metal and felt the sting of their opposition. They contended successfully with you for ten years, until humanity required that opposition should cease. You had many of them captives, and the scenes at Goliad, the Alamo, and the Hacienda Salado, will bear witness to your treatment of prisoners of war. But these fearful tragedies should not be charged to your people; the people of the United States have not so charged you, but rather your rulers, who have attempted to make up in cruelty what they lacked in manly courage. During the nine years following the decisive battle of San

Jacinto, your soldiery were not once permitted to obtain a foothold in Texas. All who did not submit to Texan laws and become citizens, were effectually driven out. Texas had taken her stand among the nations of the world, and Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States had acknowledged her independence. You had not the least earthly hope of ever re-conquering your revolted province. It was only that the leaders among your people might acquire popularity with those who did not read, that an obstinate feeling of hostility was kept alive. All this was admitted by Santa Anna and Almonte. Texas then being free, of the same stock with the people of the United States, applied for admission into the Union. It was not for the protection of Texas, as many of you imagine, that she was so annexed; but to prevent European States from acquiring, through Texas, a foothold in the Gulf of Mexico, which it was not, and is not the policy of the United States they should acquire. Texas was annexed. The popular leaders in Mexico urged resistance, that resistance brought on a war of two years, in which time we could easily have absorbed the whole of her noble country. But it was not our wish or desire. We hoped yet to see her a prosperous and happy country. We abstained; but in the treaty of 1848, acquired for some millions, the Territories of California, New Mexico, &c., lands but thinly settled and uncultivated, but covering 587,679 square miles. You will admit that you brought on this war by the invasion of Texas, ten years after your best appointed army had been driven out of it, and without any earthly hope or prospect of success even against Texas alone. The United States had no desire to go into that war; her policy has always been pacific.

Thus then to recapitulate—

The territory of the original States

was, in 1783.....	452,886 square miles.		
Acquired by purchase in 1803.....	1,599,317	"	"
Acquired by treaty of 1819.....	59,286	"	"
Acquired by discovery—Oregon....	341,463	"	"
Acquired by annexation in 1845....	325,520	"	"
Acquired by treaty of 1848.....	587,679	"	"

3,366,151

The small strip acquired by the Gadsden Treaty is not included.

From these estimated data, you will perceive that the territory of the United States has increased seven fold; yet it has not kept pace with our population, which estimating it now at twenty-seven millions, has increased nine-fold. Upon a more

thorough acquaintance with our country, and a study of our statistics, you will find that our progress during the seventy-five years since our Independence was acknowledged, has been in every other element of national greatness, equally astonishing.

Since you acquired your Independence, your population has actually diminished; nor have you made any progress in any of the elements of civilization. So far as the enjoyment of civil liberty is concerned, you have several times had the forms, but the substantial security and confidence of your citizens have been less than under the Viceroy. You cannot charge these things to other nations, the responsibility of the entire failure rests upon yourselves.

Let us inquire into this point. Your Constitution of 1824 was a noble instrument, yet it had some fatal defects. Your Supreme Court, the last and strongest security of your liberties, was not made sufficiently independent. Instead of making your Federal Congress the interpreter of your Constitution, that should have rested entirely with your Courts. Politicians, influenced by party views, are in every way disqualified to construe the Constitution. They are not impartial, they have not the requisite learning, they are not independent, they cannot deliberate with sufficient calmness.

This was a fatal objection to that instrument, and in practice, you saw a Congress obedient to the orders of some military chieftain, trample under foot the surest safeguards of your liberty.

It was objectionable in another respect, it provided solely for the Roman Catholic religion, excluding all others. No nation was ever happy whose constitution thus attempted to fashion the consciences of its people in a single mould. Tyranny over the soul is the gloomiest, most blighting, and damning of all despotisms. Go to Italy, where they have had the fairest opportunity to test this matter. There you will find a people impoverished, humbled, dispirited, and kept in subjection only by foreign bayonets. Let religion alone! God does not require an arm of flesh to establish his kingdom. As Christ said to Peter, "put up thy sword." In our country and in all our constitutions, we simply say, that every man has the right to worship God as he pleases. Government pays none; but claims only for *Cæsar* what is his. Here we may form any religious opinions we please; we may speak or write about them; we may form societies, organize churches, hold conventions, synods, councils; yet Government takes no account of these things. We are not afraid of the Jesuits here. We allow them to come and live among us, and to teach and preach as they please; we permit the Mormons and Chinese to rear their

temples among us. They do us no harm, and though we have an hundred denominations here, all with different creeds and confessions, and each are zealous to get followers, yet we have peace. Each denomination pays its own expenses, by voluntary contributions. No one is compelled to give anything. This is a very great stimulant. We have but few loafers among the clergy. Poor preachers get poor pay. There are many Roman Catholics in our country; they get their support in the same way; and I will venture to say that, in the aggregate, they are better paid, better preachers, and more zealous in their calling than the clergy of your country. Your higher clergy are paid too much—they are insolent, fat, vicious, and given to treason. Not so with us; our clergy meddle but little with politics. True, some of them forgetful of their high calling descend from the sacred desk, the highest earthly station, to dabble and belute themselves in politics; but the community immediately lose confidence in such characters, and their clerical usefulness is at an end. Your present proposed Constitution is quite an improvement on that of 1824; but it is still defective on this point. Open wider the doors of religious liberty. God has made the mind free; see that you do not restrain it. Let truth and error grapple, and contend in the field of reason; all you have to do as a government, is to keep the peace, abolish all laws of forced contribution to your clergy, and let the flock feed the shepherds. You may trust to their faith. God has implanted religion enough in the breast of every human being to urge him to the support of his spiritual adviser. It will require some firmness and liberality to carry out this only sure method of making your people happy, but if you desire Mexico to live you must take high ground. Some of your clergy may suffer, but it will be because they are worthless. The workingmen among them will be well supported. We have the promise of God for this thing; if they are poor they will be virtuous and humble, and will cease to concoct treason against your liberties. Since 1821, every blow struck against liberty has been stimulated by your clergy. Santa Anna understood this well, and used them at his pleasure, for your enslavement. At this very moment they are doing all they can to prejudice you against the liberal Constitution you are now preparing. By successive usurpations they had accumulated in their own hands three-fourths of the property of Mexico; and when a plundered and abused people call upon them to restore these ill-gotten gains, behold a protest from the Archbishop of Mexico declaring that he had taken an oath, at his ordination, to preserve this church property, and he could not agree to surrender it, till released by the Pope from this obligation. Oh, people of Mexico, how much of the

love of God is there in this protest! You are converting this church property into mortgages; now let me make a suggestion—out of this fund, first and above all things, pay your national debt, pay every dollar of it honestly. For that book on which your venerable Archbishop took his oath, says “owe no man anything.” This great step will place you right before the world, and keep you from being insulted by Spanish navies. The remainder of the fund, which will be large, apply most sacredly to the education of your children. Set your priests to work in educating them, pay them well for the service; establish institutions of learning of a high order in all your large cities, endow them well, and send to other countries for competent instructors in mineralogy, geology, chemistry, agriculture—establish able professorships wherever you can. Have your great country fully explored, and her vast resources made known. Knock every shackle from your printing press, and make every man take an oath that it shall be forever free. Let cheap publications be scattered over your country; let every one that can read have a paper and a book, and above all the bible, and a copy of your free Constitution. Go to work to redeem yourselves from impending ruin. Let every one be engaged; offer inducements for labor—when your people are busy they will not want for food, they will have no time to hatch treason, they will fall in love with their country and her glorious reforms.

Another matter of vast importance. Bring your military into subordination to your civil authority. Let the sacred majesty of the law overawe these men of buckram and starch. As you have not been accustomed to this state of things, your only security against military usurpers, have a positive provision in your Constitution limiting your standing army to five thousand men—never let it be larger; you can rely upon volunteers and militia in an emergency. The United States army, in proportion to population, is not so large. We are not afraid of it, and if any officer or soldier commits an offence against the peace, or against any of our citizens, he is brought before our courts and punished. His comrades dare not interfere. It would cost them their lives to rescue him. You will never have a free country while an orderly sergeant can get up a *pronunciamiento* and inaugurate a revolution.

Among us we have had the fewest number of trials for treason—with you it is the chief crime. Why is this? Let your Government be free, and your people free; let the Government be their own. Interpose no third party between the people and their country; let them elect their President, Governors, Judges, and subordinate officers; and when they find that the laws and the rulers are of their own making, and that they

have the right to change them at stated periods, they will be satisfied. Men do not betray themselves, nor abuse their own work.

You are about to commit another grave error in having but one legislative body. You should have two, holding their offices by different tenures. Men are passionate and precipitate, and often abuse the gravity of legislation by hasty and ill digested laws. If we had concentrated our legislation in but one House, our Union would have been dissolved long since; and at this very moment our Government would not last a month with but one legislative body. As it is, each House is a check upon the other, and such acts as can pass the ordeal of both Houses, and the President's veto, must have in them the odor of moderation and national justice. You cannot succeed with one House.

Another point. Abolish the odious and anti-republican practice of substitutes. When you elect a man to an office, let him discharge its duties, or resign. Let their salaries be reasonable and moderate. You have been paying your Presidents five times as much as we pay ours. Hence scoundrels are tempted to wade through blood to this palace of luxury and large pay. In no event permit your President to have a body guard, nor permit any one to be thrown into prison, except by a warrant issued by one of your courts or judges.

These are some of the matters suggested by an examination of your proposed Constitution. If attended to you may yet redeem your country. But remember that you have been retrograding for many years, and to retrace your steps it will require the united, patriotic, self-denying effort of your whole people. Remember also, that at the bottom of all progress is the education and enlightenment of your children.

Should you pursue this course and educate, civilize, and liberalize your people, you will have the applause, sympathy, and hearty good will of the people of this country. We will be the first to extend to you the hand of brotherhood, and to interchange with you the kind offices of friendship, religion, and trade. Nay, more; should you be assailed by any of the powers of Europe, this country will interpose the sword in behalf of the integrity of your territory.

But remember that the United States North are the sworn enemy of tyranny and ignorance. Whether it be their destiny or not, it has been the practice of our people here, who are free to go and come when they please, to interpose sympathy and material aid to their oppressed neighbors. A portion of your country lying north of the Sierra Madre, and contiguous to our southern border, has tasted more of the spirit of our institutions than your transmontane citizens. These people have

our sympathies, and deserve at your hands a liberal treatment; should you attempt to force upon them despotic measures, they will separate from you; our people will aid them in sustaining their position, and ultimately you will be shorn of your Northeastern States of Tamaulipas, New Leon, Chihuahua, &c. Such will be the first step. The same causes continued will bring the enterprising Anglo-Saxon into contact with your central provinces. When he comes he will only be rude in repelling ignorance, tyranny, and bigotry. He will spread light, and life, and liberty wherever he goes. We hope you will by your energy and timely efforts dispense with the necessity of the interposition of our race. Your glorious country must be redeemed, the destiny of America requires it, you must do it yourselves, or we will do it for you. In a country so free as ours, where every man is a statesman, an orator, and a philanthropist, you may judge there is a great deal of patriotism. By this term we are not to limit our idea simply to a love of country, but also to a zeal for free institutions. Liberty is a Goddess, receiving from gallant hearts a subordinate worship, and whither she calls they go. It is impossible for our Government, if it desired it, to prevent the emigration of her citizens. Hence you perceive in all the contests in America, more or less of our countrymen are engaged, and always on the side of that party most in favor of freedom. Walker is called by the democracy of Nicaragua to aid them against the monarchists—he responds, as did Timoleon and La Fayette; and with a handful of men the servile party are driven away, and civil liberty is organizing in that rich and romantic country. It is impossible that any other than a free government would exist where Walker and his men control. The other States of Central America, without any provocation whatever, have united in a war against him; Costa Rica, vain of her process, went in advance. She returned with the *cholera*, caught at Rivas. They are now acting more cautiously, but they will get a whipping. Walker is on a mission of civilization, he is placed in front of a revolution, which will not retrograde.

The victories of Walker will be of service to you; the consequent movement of civilization will light the torch of intellect on your Southern border. Deal honestly and courteously with him and his people, and they will make you valuable neighbors. If you have any feeling of jealousy do not exhibit it, but rather open the doors of commerce and intercourse. Have no war of religion with them. Men who are truly religious never fight about it. It is only such men as the Czar of Russia, who desiring to plant the standard of empire on the shores of the Bosphorus take up the cudgel for the liberty of

the Greek church. Men who fight for religion, or persecute for religion, *always* have some others object in view than the love of God.

The United States, as a Government, will always be found acting in good faith towards you; as a people they are too powerful to fear any other nation, and too great to do injustice to a weak neighbor, and although the tyrannical conduct of some of your rulers has excited their contempt for them, and pity for you, they have forbore to interfere in your domestic affairs. Not so with our people; they are free to talk and act; they will be ever ready to give their voluntary aid to those contending for liberty in Mexico; yet if they had their choice all would unite in wishing you a free constitution and yourselves a flourishing and happy people. You may depend upon it, this is the sentiment of our entire country. Upon the overthrow of Santa Anna by Alvarez and Commonfort, there was a general feeling of joy in this country, yet it was in some degree checked by the fact that you have had so many revolutions in Mexico, without making any progress. In conclusion, remember what I tell you, it is now the middle of the 19th century, you have been struggling for three centuries, and have done nothing yet; *you must make progress, or you will be absorbed by a more energetic race.*

IMPROVEMENT OF THE OHIO.

Two plans are proposed for the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio river.

The first of these is my own proposition, to form *reservoirs* on the tributaries of the river, in which water will be collected when the drainage of the country is in excess, and from which the channel will be supplied when the navigation fails in times of drought.

The other is the plan of *locks and dams*, the advocates of which propose to construct about fifty dams across the river, to increase the depth of the water, and to place two locks in each dam to overcome the obstructions created by the dams themselves.

I have recommended the formation of reservoirs on the tributaries of the river, and objected to the construction of these dams across the channel of the river, for the following reasons:

1. After the dams shall have been constructed across the Ohio, it will be found that *they cannot be made water-tight*. The dams will leak, and reservoirs on the tributary streams will be needed in the summer season to supply the pools themselves with sufficient water to float the boats.

This point is illustrated by the slackwater navigation on the Schuylkill river, where three reservoirs are now required, and are resorted to annually to supply water to compensate for the losses resulting from the evaporation and from the leakage and lockage at the dams.

It is illustrated also by many otherslackwater improvements; but more particularly by that of the Monongahela river, where, during the greater part of the summer and fall of 1854, the water not only ceased to run over the dams, but by evaporation and leakage was almost literally dried out of the pools.

The Monongahela Company now contemplate resorting to "immense reservoirs," from which a supply can be drawn, in seasons of low water, into their lower pools, and thus keep them in good navigable condition.

They now have a lock and dam improvement, but find that they still need reservoirs to supply that improvement with water and make the dams useful.

Instead of building dams to obstruct the navigation of the Ohio, and locks to overcome the artificial obstructions occasioned by the dams, and reservoirs in the mountains from which to supply the pools with water, I propose to form the reservoirs in the first instance and to supply the river itself from them at once, and dispense entirely with the locks and dams. It will require much less water to supply the river in its natural condition than will be needed to supply it after its channel has been obstructed by leaky dams and a wider surface has been exposed to the sun and air and the evaporation thereby increased.

2. *Locks and dams will set a limit to the amount of freight which can be transported on the river.* The plan which I propose, that of supplying the river with water in times of drought, will leave its capacity for conveying freight for all practicable purposes absolutely unlimited.

After these dams have been built, the number of boats which may traverse the river will no longer be determined by the quantities of produce, minerals, or lumber that the region of which the Ohio is the great highway is capable of producing or which its markets may demand, but they will be limited to the number that may be passed through the locks.

The inability of double locks to pass the trade of the Ohio is fully demonstrated by the Monongahela navigation, where the coal boats occasionally crowd by hundreds to the locks, and, in the haste and anxiety to get through, block up the approaches against all ascending craft for several days in succession.

There are only five or six steamboats plying on the Monongahela and requiring the use of its locks; but the improve-

ment of the Ohio, to be tolerated, must be such as may be relied on to accommodate not only the present and prospective coal trade of the Monongahela, but also the lumber trade of the Allegheny, the iron and miscellaneous trade of Pittsburg, several hundred Ohio river steamboats, and the proper trade of the Ohio river itself. This vast aggregate could not be passed through double locks, even if a set of double locks could always be kept in good working order.

But we cannot hope to have two locks at each of the fifty dams, exposed as they must be to injury from boats and from floods, always in order unless we provide at least three locks in each dam.

3. The delays at the locks will be greater than the running time now required to make the trip, and consequently the time now required for every ordinary voyage will be more than doubled by the detention at the dams.

If reservoirs are adopted, and water supplied by them to the channel when it is needed there, the time required to make the trip will be reduced.

4. If dams are placed across the channel of the Ohio, all the trade of the river, for not less than fifty weeks in every year, will be forced through the locks.

Careful and recorded observations made at Wheeling for twelve years in succession, show that the water would not be high enough for boats to go safely over the dams on an average fourteen days in the year.

5. If the navigation is improved by reservoirs no interest can possibly be injured thereby; if the channel is obstructed by dams the rafting business will be completely destroyed.

6. Dams on the Ohio, however skillfully they may be planned by the engineer, and however faithfully built by the contractors, will sometimes prove to be imperfect. Resting often on treacherous foundations, some of them will be injured by the ice and some be undermined by the floods. This has been the experience wherever numerous dams have been built on the same stream. Such misfortunes have occurred on the Lehigh, on the Schuylkill, on the Potomac, on James river, and on the Monongahela. They may occur also on the Ohio.

When one of the well-built dams on the Monongahela gave way in 1842 the bottom of the river was washed out to a depth of forty feet. One year was lost in consequence of the continued high water; and when, in the second year after the breach was formed, the water fell so that the work of reparation could be commenced, it required *four months* for the most skillful and energetic men to close the gap and secure the dam.

What, I ask, would be the condition of things if one of the fifty dams which it is so lightly proposed to construct on the Ohio should be washed away or undermined, and the navigation there suspended for four months?

If we resort to reservoirs for the improvement of the navigation no damage can result to the trade of the Ohio from a derangement or breach of any part of the works.

7. Dams will obstruct the navigation and cause the boats to crowd and jam against the entrance of the locks. These boats will sometimes be sunk—as has happened on the Monongahela improvement, and indeed on every canal in the country—and stop the navigation until they can be removed. A pair of coal-boats will contain a thousand tons or more, and the removal of so great a mass from under water will be a slow and tedious job.

If the river is fed from reservoirs the channel will be kept always clear, and there can consequently be no jamming of boats. If a boat sinks there will be room in the channel for other boats to pass by it.

8. If locks and dams are adopted, steamboats will sometimes be driven carelessly against the works and stave in the gates. This occurs frequently on canals, and has occurred on the Monongahela, though but few steamboats run there. In this one instance a new pair of gates happened to be ready, and the navigation was restored, by the great skill and energy of the President of the company, in four days.

If the navigation of the Ohio should be stopped for only four days some seventy or eighty steamboats would collect above and below the locks, and, at some seasons of the year in that space of time from 500 to 1,000 coal-boats, flat-boats, and rafts, in addition to the steamers, would be arrested there.

The collection, in the space of only a few days, would sometimes be so great on that river that its whole channel would be filled entirely across, from bank to bank, to the distance of two or three, and at times even to the distance of five miles from the locks. On the canals of this country we have often witnessed such sights on a smaller scale. In one instance seven miles of canal boats blocked up the entire breath of the Erie canal before the breach which stopped their progress could be repaired. But the boats and locks of a canal are of manageable dimensions, and nearly three hundred boats can be let through a well-appointed lock in a day. A pair of coal-boats or a raft would occupy the huge lock which will be required to pass the Ohio river steamboats more than an hour. It is indeed very doubtful whether a raft which would fill one of these locks, and cover therefore more than half an acre of surface, could be let through and got out of the way in less

than three hours. But, assuming that the average time for a pair of coal-boats or a raft would be an hour, to pass 500 of them through a single lock, working day and night, would consume at least ten days, and during that ten days at a certain season of the year, as many more would approach and struggle to get through as the way might be cleared for them. Small, comparatively, as is the present trade of the Monongahela, and rapidly as the smaller locks there required can be worked, the descending coal flats frequently shut off the navigation for ascending steamers on that river for three or four days in succession.

9. The cost of the fifty dams and one hundred locks which it is proposed to build on the Ohio, deduced from the ascertained cost of the Monongahela improvement, with a proper allowance for the increased length of the dams, the increased length, width, and height of the locks, and the increased value of labor and materials since that work was completed, twelve years ago, would be about twenty-five millions of dollars.

The cost of procuring a five feet navigation by means of reservoirs on the tributaries ought not to exceed two millions of dollars.

Is it better to expend twenty-five millions and obstruct the channel of the Ohio by fifty dams during nine months of the year, when the navigation is perfect, or to pay two millions to remove the obstructions caused by low water during three months of drouth?

10. Almost every city on the Ohio is built in part on soil subject to be overflowed. The construction of dams below these cities will increase the height of the floods and the depths and the frequency of the overflows.

Dams in the mountains may be placed where no valuable property will be covered by the reservoirs, and they cannot fail, by retaining a portion of the surplus water, to reduce instead of increasing the height and destructive power of the floods on the river.

11. Dams across the Ohio will set the water up into the mouths of all the tributaries, great and small, which empty into its channel. On these tributaries are valuable mills and mill privileges, which will be submerged, even in low water, and destroyed by the dams.

The reservoirs in the mountains will destroy no mills or water-power, but, on the contrary, they will create vast and never-failing water-power wherever the dams which form the reservoirs are placed.

12. The advocates of locks and dams cannot be opposed to reservoirs, nor deny the practicability of obtaining water

enough by that means to feed the Ohio. They cannot take this ground; for every dam they propose to build will form a reservoir of immense size, but one which is not available, because it is in the wrong place. The fifty dams which they propose to raise on the Ohio will form reservoirs in the river itself, covering, in the aggregate, a space of over *four hundred square miles*, and holding three times as much water as would be needed if they were placed where they ought to be, in the mountains, to afford a five feet navigation the year round from Pittsburgh to Cairo.

To avoid forming reservoirs in the mountains, where they will do great good, they propose to make pools in the river, where they will do great harm. The pools in the river will contain fully three times as much water as need be discharged from the mountains to support the navigation throughout the summer; and, after the pools are made in the river and the navigation has been destroyed by the dams that form them, great reservoirs in the mountains will still be required to supply these pools with water.

Is it not better, I ask, to make the reservoirs in the mountains at once and dispense with the pools in the river altogether?

13. The dams which it is proposed to construct on the Ohio will convert the channel of that river into fifty stagnant and pestilential ponds, endangering the healthfulness and diminishing the population of its valley.

High dams in the mountains will form deep lakes in the rock bound gorges. These lakes will be filled with cool water in the winter and spring. This water will retain its coolness until it is needed for the navigation, and then gush forth in refreshing torrents, which will temper the heats in midsummer on the immediate borders of the river.

The locks and dams will destroy the navigation of the river when it is in the best condition, and impair the healthfulness of its shores when they are the least salubrious.

The reservoirs in the mountains will improve the navigation when it most needs improvement, give motion to the river when its waters are stagnant, supply the cities on its banks with a more wholesome beverage, and wash out, as far as fresh water can do that work, the causes of malaria.

I object, therefore, to locks and dams on the Ohio. I object to them because the river can be improved by a plan which will leave its channel unimpaired and unobstructed; which will improve the navigation of its tributaries while it improves that of the river itself; which will tend to diminish the height and destruction produced by the floods, while it increases the depth of the channel in seasons of drought; which will create

immense water-power in the mountains, without destroying the water-power near the river; which will pour a healthful current of cool water into the channel from the reservoirs in the mountains, instead of converting its living stream into putrid pools; which can be used to carry away the ice that obstructs the navigation in the winter, while it overcomes the effect of drought in the summer; which will improve the health, while it increases the wealth of the country; which will do some good to every interest and injure none.

This is the plan which I offer as a substitute for locks and dams on the Ohio.

It is not a speculative plan. It is based on careful measurements of the volume of water flowing down the Ohio day by day, and every day for a period of six years. It is the conclusion which results from minute, laborious, and appropriate investigations.

This plan and the facts on which it rests have been given to the public in a work which has received the approbation and concurrence of scientific minds throughout the country.*

Is it not then, worthy of the attention of that great community of business men which has put the locomotive in motion on the mountain tops and filled the navigable rivers of the West with magnificent steamers?

I have done my share of the work. I have projected the plan, I have measured the discharge of the river, I have demonstrated the practicability of the scheme, without aid or encouragement, and I ask now only that they who are to be the most benefitted by the work shall assist in its execution.

The editor of the *Railroad Record* remarks on Mr. ELLET'S plan and writings as follows:

"In an early number of the Record we noticed at some length the very able work of Mr. Ellet on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. It was one of those accurate and enlightened investigations of a difficult problem in physics which only an able and well-instructed man of science could make. All the elements of the Ohio river, such as the quantity, depth, and distribution of water necessary to the solution of the problem, were carefully ascertained, and the results commended themselves to our mind with the precision and certainty of truth. We thought then, and do now, that Mr. Ellet's plan was not only practicable and cheap, but was the only one which promised success. With this conviction we lay before our readers Mr. Ellet's interesting communication."

*See Ellet on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers.

NEW ORLEANS COMMERCE, '1850-'56.

VALUE OF PRODUCE OF THE INTERIOR RECEIVED

ARTICLES.	1856.			1855.	
	Amount.	Av. price.	Value, dollars.	Amount.	Value, dollars.
Apples.....bbls....	62,449	3 00	187,347	85,523	73,177
Bacon, as., hds & cks....	36,754	75 00	2,754,050	40,767	2,855,090
Bacon, assorted.....bxs....	2,782	30 00	83,460	3,492	80,816
" hams, hds & ts....	28,751	60 00	1,725,060	31,371	2,089,115
" in bulk.....lbs....	173,760	9	15,633	232,920	18,633
Bagging.....pcs....	33,905	18 00	610,290	40,578	608,370
Bale Rope.....cls....	101,331	10 00	1,013,310	95,336	667,352
Beans.....bbls....	6,158	6 00	40,548	4,690	25,795
Butter.....kegs & firks....	33,119	10 00	331,190	33,874	237,118
".....bbls....	1,825	35 00	63,875	1,017	30,510
Beeswax.....bbls....	130	50 00	6,500	141	7,050
Beef.....bbls....	49,849	12 00	598,188	31,899	414,687
".....therces....	11,210	20 00	224,200	9,679	193,590
" dried.....lbs....	19,010	19	1,901	23,850	2,047
Cotton.....bales....	1,750,293	40 00	70,371,720	1,234,763	51,890,730
Corn Meal.....bbls....	240	4 00	960	225	1,013
Corn in ear.....bbls....	41,924	30	38,539	10,701	14,981
" shelled.....sks....	1,990,965	1 50	2,986,492	1,110,446	2,287,539
Cheese.....bxs....	42,652	4 50	191,934	45,245	203,602
Candles.....bxs....	83,595	8 00	768,144	56,888	451,064
Cider.....bbls....	59	3 00	177	14	42
Coal, West.....bbls....	987,000	45	444,150	1,013,000	559,900
Dried Ap. & Pch. bbls....	8,046	6 00	18,276	1,232	7,512
Feathers.....bags....	778	42 00	32,676	1,078	30,184
Flaxseed.....tes....	280	12 00	2,760	281	8,372
Flour.....bbls....	1,120,974	7 50	3,407,305	673,111	5,538,166
Furs, hds, bbls & bxs....	1,030		400,000	302	300,000
Glassware.....pkgs....	30,326	5 00	151,630	16,384	65,536
Hemp.....bales....	16,518	30 00	504,540	81,335	940,050
Hides.....bbls....	151,481	8 00	454,298	84,298	189,670
Hay.....bales....	122,470	5 00	612,350	73,371	366,370
Iron, pig.....tons....	332	35 00	11,620	17	595
Lard.....bbls & tes....	110,713	26 00	2,878,538	144,036	3,000,900
".....kegs....	88,790	6 00	502,740	95,326	491,630
Leather.....bbls....	4,758	35 00	166,530	5,302	159,060
Lime, West.....bbls....	16,551	1 75	28,964	19,233	21,156
Lead.....pigs....	80,624	5 00	403,120	70,514	352,570
" bar, kegs & bxs....	341	20 00	6,820	301	5,644
" white.....kegs....	65	4 00	260	269	1,076
Molasses (est. crop) gls....	15,274,140	30	4,582,342	25,000,000	4,255,000
Oats.....bbls & sks....	587,150	1 00	587,150	430,973	549,972
Onions.....bbls....	14,477	3 00	43,431	11,665	40,837
Oil, Linseed.....bbls....	163	42 00	6,846	343	13,990
Oil, Castor.....bbls....	1,520	50 00	76,000	2,617	117,765
Oil, Lard.....bbls....	10,881	35 00	380,535	15,332	466,690
Potatoes.....bbls....	132,556	3 50	456,890	70,589	176,343
Pork.....tes & bbls....	277,841	17 00	4,723,297	276,893	4,145,895
".....bxs....	6,333	35 00	221,605	7,458	263,438
" hhd.	3,589	60 00	215,340	3,067	189,355
" in bulk.....lbs....	7,430,384	6	44,583	6,263,650	375,818
Porter and Ale.....bbls....	1,637	10 00	16,370	1,217	12,170
Packing Yarn.....ris....	8,814	7 00	61,698	1,733	21,537
Rum.....bbls....	609	20 00	12,180	1,850	33,300
Skins, Deer.....pks....	406	30 00	12,180	499	14,790
Shingles.....M....	5,000	3 00	15,000	15	225
Shot.....kegs....	3,098	25 00	77,450	3,485	86,440
Soap.....bxs....	10,257	8 50	86,184	7,733	27,240
Staves.....M....	4,647	50 00	232,350	4,000	198,000
Sugar (est. crop), hds....	251,457	70 00	17,602,000	346,635	18,025,020
Spanish Moss.....bales....	5,317	30 00	159,510	4,729	70,935
Tallow.....bbls....	1,195	27 00	32,265	711	21,830
Tobacco, Leaf.....hhd.	49,626	140 00	6,947,640	42,629	5,549,830
" strips.....hhd.	4,510	300 00	1,353,000	2,109	1,459,630
" stems.....hhd.	1,564	40 00	62,560	2,543	101,920
" ch, kegs & bxs....	3,599	25 00	89,975	4,153	103,825
Twine.....bbls & bxs....	3,658	12 00	43,896	3,240	34,115
Vinegar.....bbls....	1,057	6 00	6,342	1,026	6,156
Whisky.....bbls....	143,733	19 00	2,730,927	103,854	1,806,243
Wheat.....bbls & sks....	869,524	8 20	7,135,476	31,233	67,066
Other articles, estimated at.....			6,000,000		5,000,000

TOTAL VALUE—Dollars.....	144,256,031
Total in 1854-'55.....	117,106,833
Total in 1853-'54.....	115,326,793
Total in 1852-'53.....	134,233,735
Total in 1851-'52.....	108,051,706

MR. MADISON'S ALLEGORY OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

WRITTEN BUT NOT PUBLISHED AT THE PERIOD OF THE MISSOURI QUESTION IN 1821,
AND THE MANUSCRIPT NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF J. C. MCGUIRE, Esq., OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Jonathan Bull and Mary Bull, who were descendants of old John Bull, the head of the family, had inherited contiguous estates in large tracts of land. As they grew up and became well acquainted, a partiality was mutually felt, and advances on several occasions made towards a matrimonial connection. This was particularly recommended by the advantage of putting their two estates under a common superintendence. Old Bull, however, as guardian of both, and having long been allowed certain valuable privileges within the estates, with which he was not long content, had always found the means of breaking off the match, which he regarded as a fatal obstacle to his secret design of getting the whole property into his own hands.

At a moment favorable, as he thought, for the attempt, he brought suit against both, but with a view of carrying it on in a way that would make the process bear on the parties in such different modes, times, and degrees, as might create a jealousy and discord between them. Jonathan and Mary had too much sagacity to be duped. They understood well old Bull's character and situation. They knew that he was deeply versed in all the subtleties of the law; that he was of a stubborn and persevering temper, and that he had, moreover, a very long purse. They were sensible, therefore, that the more he endeavored to divide their interests and their defence of the suit, the more they ought to make a common cause and proceed in a concert of measures. As this could best be done by giving effect to the feelings long entertained for each other, an intermarriage was determined on and solemnized, with a deed of settlement, as usual in such opulent matches, duly executed; and no event certainly of the sort was ever celebrated by a greater fervor or variety of rejoicings among the respective tenants of the parties. They had a great horror of falling into the hands of old Bull, and regarded the marriage of their proprietors, under whom they held their freeholds, as the surest mode of warding off the danger. They were not disappointed. United purses and good advocates compelled old Bull, after a hard struggle, to withdraw the suit, and relinquish forever, not only the new pretensions he had set up, but the old privileges he had been allowed.

The marriage of Jonathan and Mary was not a barren one. On the contrary, every year or two added a new member to the family, and on such occasions the practice was to set off a portion of land sufficient for a good farm, to be put under the

authority of the child on its attaining the age of manhood. And these lands were settled very rapidly by tenants going, as the case might be, from the estates, sometimes of Jonathan, sometimes of Mary, and sometimes partly from one and partly from the other.

It happened that at the expiration of the nonage of the tenth or eleventh fruit of the marriage some difficulties were started concerning the rules and conditions of declaring the young party of age, and of giving him, as a member of the family, the management of his patrimony. Jonathan became possessed with a notion that an arrangement ought to be made that would prevent the new farm from being settled and cultivated, as in all the latter instances, indiscriminately by persons removing from his and Mary's estate, and confine this privilege to those going from his own; and in the perverse humor which had seized him, he listened moreover to suggestions that Mary had some undue advantage from the selections of the head stewards, which happened to have been made much oftener out of her tenants than his.

Now the prejudice suddenly taken up by Jonathan against the equal right of Mary's tenants to remove with their property to new farms, was connected with a peculiarity in Mary's person not as yet noticed. Strange as it may appear, the circumstance is not the less true, that Mary, when a child, had unfortunately received from a certain African dye a stain on her left arm, which had made it perfectly black, and withal somewhat weaker than the other arm. The misfortune arose from a ship from Africa, loaded with the article, which had been permitted to enter a river running through her estate, and dispose of a part of the noxious cargo. The fact was well known to Jonathan at the time of their marriage, and if felt as an objection, it was, in a manner, reduced to nothing, by the comely form and pleasing features of Mary in every other respect, by her good sense and amiable manners, and in part perhaps by the large and valuable estate she brought with her.

In the unlucky fit, however, which was upon him, he looked at the black arm, and forgot all the rest. To such a pitch of feeling was he wrought up, that he broke out into the grossest taunts on Mary for her misfortune, not omitting at the same time to remind her of his long forbearance to exert his superior voice in the appointment of the head steward. He had now, he said, got his eyes fully opened; he saw everything in a new light, and was resolved to act accordingly. As to the head steward, he would let her see that the appointment was virtually in his power, and she might take her leave of all chance of ever having another of her tenants advanced to that station; and as to the black arm, she should, if the color could

not be taken out, either tear off the skin from the flesh, or cut off the limb; for it was his fixed dermination that one or other should be done, or he would sue out a divorce, and there should be an end of all connection between them and their estates. I have, he said, examined well the marriage settlement, and flaws have been pointed out to me, that never occurred before, by which I shall be able to set the whole aside. White as I am all over, I can no longer consort with one marked with such deformity as the blot on your person.

Mary was so stunned with the language she heard, that it was some time before she could speak at all; and as the surprise abated, she was almost choked with the anger and indignation swelling in her bosom. Generous and placable as her temper was, she had a proud sensibility to what she thought an unjust and degrading treatment, which did not permit her to suppress the violence of her first emotions. Her language accordingly for a moment was such as these emotions prompted. But her good sense, and her regard for Jonathan, whose qualities as a good husband she had long experienced, soon gained an ascendancy, and changed her tone to that of sober reasoning and affectionate expostulation.

"Well, my dear husband, you see what a passion you have put me into. But it is now over, and I will endeavor to express my thoughts with the calmness and good feelings which become the relation of wife and husband.

"As to the case of providing for our child just coming of age, I shall say but little. We both have such a tender regard for him, and such a desire to see him on a level with his brethren as to the chance of making his fortune in the world, that I am sure that difficulties which have occurred will in some way or other be got over.

"But I cannot pass so lightly over the reproaches you cast on the color of my left arm, and on the more frequent appointment of my tenants than of yours to the head stewardship of our joint estates.

"Now, as to the first point, you seem to have forgotten, my worthy partner, that this infirmity was fully known to you before our marriage, and is proved to be so by the deed of settlement itself. At that time you made it no objection whatever to our union; and, indeed, how could you urge such an objection, when you were conscious that you yourself were not entirely free from a like stain on your own person? The fatal African dye, as you well know, had found its way into your abode as well as mine; and at the time of our marriage, you had spots and specks scattered over your body as black as the skin on my arm. And although you have, by certain abrasions and other applications, taken them in some measure

out, there are visible remains which ought to soften at least your language when reflecting on my situation. You ought surely, when you have so slowly and imperceptibly relieved yourself from the mortifying stain, although the task was comparatively so easy, to have some forbearance and sympathy with me, who have a task so much more difficult to perform. Instead of that, you abuse me as if I had brought the misfortune on myself, and could remove it at will; or as if you had pointed out a ready way to do it, and I had slighted your advice. Yet, so far is this from being the case, that you know as well as I do, that I am not to be blamed for the origin of the sad mishap; that I am as anxious as you can be to get rid of it,* that you are as unable as I am to find out a safe and feasible plan for the purpose; and, moreover, that I have done everything I could, in the meantime, to mitigate an evil that cannot as yet be removed. When you talk of tearing off the skin, or cutting off the unfortunate limb, must I remind you, of what you cannot be ignorant, that the most skilful surgeons have given their opinions that if so cruel an operation were to be tried, it could hardly fail to be followed by a mortification, or a bleeding to death? Let me ask, too, whether, should neither of the fatal effects ensue, you would like me better in my mangled or mutilated condition, than you do now? And when you threaten a divorce and annulment of the marriage settlement, may I not ask whether your estate would not suffer as much as mine by dissolving the partnership between them? I am far from denying that I feel the advantage of having the pledge of your arm, your stronger arm if you please, for the protection of me and mine; and that my interests in general have been, and must continue to be, the better for your aid and counsel in the management of them. But on the other hand, you must be equally sensible that the aid of my purse will have its value, in case old Bull, or any other such litigious fellow, should put us to the expense of another tedious lawsuit. And now, that we are on the subject of loss and gain, you will not be offended if I take notice of a report that you sometimes insinuate that my estate, according to the rates of assessment, does not pay its due share into the common purse. I think, my dear Jonathan, that if you ever entertained this opinion, you must have been led into it by a very wrong view of the subject. As to the direct income from rents, there can be no deficiency on my part there; the rule of apportionment being clear, and founded on a calculation by numbers. And as to what is raised from the articles bought and used by my tenants, it is difficult to conceive that my tenants buy or use less than

* This is the old fashioned mode of speech. Men have been better enlightened at the South since the Slave discussions have taken place.—ED. REVIEW.

yours, considering that they carry a greater amount of crops to market, the whole of which, it is well known they lay out in articles from the use of which the bailiff regularly collects the sum due. It would seem, then, that my tenants selling more, buy more; buying more, use more; and using more, pay more. Meaning, however, not to put you in the wrong, but myself in the right, I do not push the argument to that length; because I readily agree that in paying for articles bought and used, you have beyond the fruits of the soil, on which I depend, ways and means which I have not. You draw chiefly the interest we jointly pay for the funds we were obliged to borrow for the fees and costs the suit of old Bull put us to. Your tenants also turn their hands so ingeniously to a variety of handicraft and other mechanical productions, that they make not a little money from that source. Besides all this, you gain much by the fish you catch and carry to market; by the use of your teams and boats, in transporting and trading on the crops of my tenants; and, indeed, in doing that sort of business for strangers also. This is a fair statement on your side of the account, with the drawback, however, that as your tenants are supplied with a greater proportion of articles, made by themselves, than is the case with mine, the use of which articles does not contribute to the common purse, they avoid, in the same proportion the payments collected from my tenants. If I were to look still further into this matter, and refer you to every advantage you draw from the union of our persons and property, I might remark that the profits you make from your teams and boats, and which enable you to pay your quota, are in great part drawn from the preference they have in conveying and disposing of the produce of my soil—a business that might fall into other hands in the event of our separation. I mention this, as I have already said, not by way of complaint, for I am well satisfied that your gain is not altogether my loss in this, more than in many other instances; and that what profits you immediately, may profit me also in the long run. But I will not dwell on these calculations and comparisons of interest, which you ought to weigh as well as myself, as reasons against the measure to which you threaten a resort. For when I consult my own heart, and call to mind all the endearing proofs you have given of yours being in sympathy with it, I must needs hope that there are other ties than mere interest to prevent us from ever suffering a transient resentment on either side, with or without cause, to bring on both all the consequences of a divorce—consequences, too, which would be a sad inheritance, indeed, for our numerous and beloved offspring.

“As to the other point, relative to the head stewards, I must own, my worthy husband, that I am altogether at a loss for

any cause of dissatisfaction on your part, or blame on mine. It is true, as you say, that they have been oftener taken from among my tenants than yours; but, under other circumstances, the reverse might as well have happened. If the individuals appointed had made their way to the important trust by corrupt or fallacious means; if they had been preferred merely because they dwelt on my estate, or had succeeded by any interposition of mine contrary to your inclination; or, finally, if they had administered the trust unfaithfully, sacrificing your interests to mine, or the interests of both to selfish or to unworthy purposes; in either of these cases you would have ground for your complaints. But I know, Jonathan, that you are too just and too candid not to admit that no such ground exists. The head stewards in question could not have been appointed without your own participation as well as mine. They were recommended to our joint choice by the reputed fairness of their characters; by their tried fidelity and competency in previous trusts; and by their exemption from all charges of impure and grasping designs. And so far were they from being partial to my interest at the expense of yours, that they were rather considered by my tenants as leaning to a management more favorable to yours than to mine. I need not say that I allude to the bounties, direct or indirect, to your teams and boats, to the hands employed in your fisheries, and to the looms and other machineries, which, without such encouragements, would not be able to meet the threatened rivalships of interfering neighbors. I say, only, that these ideas were in the heads of some of my tenants. For myself, I should not have mentioned them, but as a defence against what I must regard as so unfounded a charge, that it ought not to be permitted to make a lasting impression.

"But, laying aside all these considerations, I repeat, my dear Jonathan, that the appointment of the head steward lies as much, if not more, with you than with me. Let the choice fall where it may, you will find me faithfully abiding by it, whether it be thought the best possible one or not; and sincerely wishing that he may equally improve better opportunities of serving us both than was the lot of any of those who have gone before him."

Jonathan, who has a good heart as well as a sound head and steady temper,* was touched with this tender and considerate language of Mary, and the bickering which had sprung up ended, as the quarrels of lovers *always*, and of married folks *sometimes* do, in an increased affection and confidence between the parties.

* That might have been the case with "Jonathan" in times long past, but in his later course it is impossible to find any evidences of either.—(ED. REVIEW.)

NOTES OF EUROPEAN TRAVEL—FRANCE.

Champs de Mars presented an aspect whose brilliancy and significance reflected something of the glory of those strange historic events of which it has been so often the scene. Before the shadows of the sun began to fall from the façade of L'Ecole Militaire, the spacious buildings of that institution, the side and angles of the immense plain stretching out before it, and every avenue of approach, as far as Place de la Concorde, were filled with multitudes of all classes of French people, and with strangers from all parts of the earth, eager to witness the review in celebration of the peace of March 30, 1856.

Scarcely had Hotel des Invalides sounded one o'clock, when the Imperial cortège, under the glance and smile of the Empress, left the Tuileries and proceeding along Champs Colysies, arrived at Champs de Mars by the river entrance. Surrounded by the representatives of the great Powers of the earth, and the newly made heroes of France, the presence of the Emperor Napoleon III. was announced by a salute of a hundred guns, the shrill music of forty regiments, blended with the cry of *Vive L'Empereur*, rising from the ranks of seventy thousand soldiers, and echoed by nearly two hundred thousand citizens. Followed by his suite, conspicuous in their glittering armor and waving plumes, as he dashed along solid squares of infantry and beside long columns of cavalry, to the central point, and uncovered, to acknowledge the general welcome, no one could but feel a secret sympathy with his poetic life, nor refrain from joining in the universal exclaim of admiration. An exile and a wanderer from infancy to manhood, a prisoner of Ham in the meridian of his days, then the representative of the people, afterwards chosen President, and finally proclaimed Emperor. The story of his life is the fairy tale of modern times, and the history of his house diversifies the prosaic records of our age. At variance with the common sense of the epoch, and regardless of its accepted maxims, he dared present himself to his countrymen, and amid the scorn, sarcasm, and jests of mankind, claimed these successive positions solely because he bore the name and recalled the memories of the great Emperor. In virtue of these title deeds to the succession, France pronounced herself in his favor; and now, in justification of that verdict, and in vindication of those claims, he unhesitatingly refers to the results of his own reign; points to the general order and quiet succeeding discord, insecurity, and revolution; to the steady advancement of the national interests, and to a triumphant exhibition of all the arts of peace, in the midst of a war, by which Russian policy has been subordina-

ted to the regulations of a European Congress, and the long closed gates of the Orient opened to western influence and commerce; to a diplomacy which has converted an ancient enemy into a friend, the deeds of whose allied armies on the heights of the Crimea bring to mind those other days when on the plains of Syria, the same banner waived over the young Philippe Augustus and the lion-hearted Plantagenet; to France, not as she was forty years ago, crouching humiliatingly before hostile armies encamped around her capital, and bankrupt in resources, but as she is to-day, with six hundred thousand soldiers under arms, in the enjoyment of internal repose, and marching at the head of European States, in friendly alliance with most of them, and in peace with all.

Thus, the dynasty founded by the first Emperor, amid the storms of the Revolution, and in spite of the leagued armies of Europe, for which he himself was exiled to Helena, and Napoleon II., the baby Emperor for an hour, doomed to pine away a tame existence, an Austrian subject in the castle of Shoenbrunn, after being proscribed and annulled on the oath of the crowned sovereigns, again presents itself in the person of Napoleon III., to use his own brief words, spoken over the cradle of the Imperial infant, "as if Heaven had wished to mature it by martyrdom," consolidated at home and supported abroad by those same Powers which waged war for more than ten years to destroy it, root and branch. It presents itself not as a Government accidental and provisional, originating in a chance crisis to meet an exigency and resting upon a suspensive or shifting basis, but to be maintained and perpetuated on account of its legitimate origin, its logical conformity to principle and clear adaptiveness to society. Such are the pretensions of the Napoleon dynasty, and there is a vast deal more of truth underlying them than a slight glance would discover.

If we briefly survey the history of France, and carefully analyze its leading facts, we shall easily trace the rise and complete development of certain principles, which will not only explain the causes of the reappearance of this phenomenal type of Government, but will also show how utterly inconsistent any other would be with the existent form of society.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, and during the night of the dark ages, there existed in the bosom of anarchy and chaos the seeds of modern civilization, dim and feeble conglomerates, that in coming time were to expand into circling constellations. Amid the wreck of old systems and of old general ideas were to be found in scattered parcels the germs of government. The Fendal chiefs isolated on their vast domains,

and surrounded by dependent retainers, cherished and represented the principle of personal individuality, they were free, brave, and chivalric; the free cities with chartered rights, the principle of municipal liberty and commercial reciprocity; the Luzerain claiming homage and slight tribute, the principle of central authority—the nascent idea of the organized state; the hierarchical church religion and learning. These four systems, though closely interwoven, were yet antagonistic. The Barons, agitated by mutual jealousies, leading to incessant strife and warfare, after many ineffectual struggles, succumbed at last to the central power. The weaker of them took refuge from the aggressive spirit of their more powerful neighbors, under the arm of the royal Luzerain, and subjecting themselves to his influence and authority, united in breaking down the order of which they formed a part. The free cities valuing present gain and ease more than permanent, yet often threatened liberty, sought security in the same source against the constant encroachments of lawless chiefs and the exactions of marauding strangers. The Luzerain taking advantage of the errors and weaknesses of the Barons and cities, wielded adroitly his slender means, and profiting by a central capital and singleness of purpose, began to enlarge the sphere and strengthen the basis of his power. The wars of the last crusades, and the universal insecurity of life and property, combining with the warlike dispositions of the early kings, concentrated in their hands the general interests, beside many of the privileges of all orders. They commenced to exercise, though in a very limited degree and not without difficulty, yet more and more the functions of organized government. Under the Valois, as early as the fifteenth century, a monarchy arose with unity, strength, and vigor. It levied taxes, raised armies, established a systematic police, and administered justice. The long and bloody wars with England developed the principle of nationality, and the sentiment of patriotism. Charles VII. by force, and Louis XI. by cunning, undermined and destroyed the strongest barriers against the growth and expansion of the central authority. Notwithstanding some exceptional irregularities, the monarchy became complete, and France at once national, orderly, and compact.

But the causes that consolidated the monarchy, stimulated the growth of the principle of centralization. No longer content with enacting general laws and supervising the general interests, it usurped local authority and destroyed local rights. By means of vast wealth, a disciplined army and a trained police, it annihilated all opposition, broke down all local privileges, and gradually drew within itself the entire political vitality of the state. The Provinces were bound together, by

outward pressure, without any bills of union like those which have saved the English Empire from wreck, or any reserved rights battled for and retained, such as those which constitute not only the palladium of American liberty, but the surest guarantees for the preservation of the American Union. Les Etats Generaux instead of representing well-defined rights, was but the plaything of the King, and Les Etats Provinceaux succumbed, without resistance, to the universal absorption. The old nobility, on account of their selfish exclusiveness, having already degenerated into an isolated caste, could make only a divided stand against encroachments on their political rights. There is no Runnemedede, with its Magna Charta, in the heroic annals of French chivalry. Richelieu and Mazarin smote it down, already stricken with decay. Beside the Throne, from an insignificant origin, had grown up into startling proportions, the power of Le Conseil du roi, which exercised at the same time all the legislative, judicial, and executive functions of an absolute Government. Its agents were established in every province, and regulated the financial, industrial, and political interests of all classes. Le Controleur General, and les subdélégués, under the authority of the Conseil du roi, which, in turn, was appointed and controlled by the King, in spite of the local forms still existing, did in reality govern France completely and arbitrarily. Provincial Parliaments, Governors, and Corporations, witnessed without a murmur, their decisions reversed, and finally their authority supplanted. Centralization obtained the supremacy, and the last vestage of municipal rights and local freedom perished in the grasp of Louis XIV. He dismissed the Parliament of Paris fonet à la main. He and France were one.

The Revolution of 1793, in the establishment of universal civil equality, still further developed this principle. Not only were the social inequalities of the aristocracy which had long since become a political nihility destroyed, but the monarchy itself, with all the privileges it had selfishly fostered, shared a like fate, and the government and the people brought face to face. Yet, throughout that contest, although every principle of order, social and political, was thrown into confusion, centralization alone, invigorated, ruled supreme over the Convention and Assembly, over the clubs and guillotine. The aspect of all things was altered, but society continued to move in the same channel.

While the power that guided it assumed a new name under each successive phase of the famous tragedy, the wheel never ceased to move on the same unshaken axis. Though the King was no more, Paris survived, and Paris and France were one.

The principle of centralization adopted by the revolution

accelerated the work of abolishing privilege, and establish the principle of universal political equality. Napoleon, by his continual wars, intensified the former, and in the desire to found a popular dynasty removed every obstacle in the way of the latter principle. The code Napoleon embodied both. Action and reaction confirmed and strengthened the union. France was become democratic and despotic. The *vox populi* was the word of the Emperor. The monarchy had developed the principle of centralization, the revolution inaugurated the principle of equality. They were wedded in the dynasty of Napoleon.

Such was the development of two principles, that by their origin and nature have much regulated the construction, the tastes, the very shape and growth of French society. They constitute not so much the mould by which it has been fashioned as the vital power that entered into its inner life and determined the essence and character of its being. Subsequent events will demonstrate their vigor, vitality, and mastery.

The old legitimacy returning from more than twenty years of banishment with the armies of England and all Europe, succeeded in the overthrow of the new dynasty, and gathering up the shattered remains of the ancient régime, formed a system by which it appeared again securely if not permanently lodged on the throne. France wearied of revolution and war, was once more to return into the paths of peace and prosperity. She was not only to renounce, but to lament the work of the revolution, and a chapel of expiation was erected over the graves of the unfortunate King Louis XVI. and the Queenly-hearted Marie Antoinette. The storm-tossed ship had reached its haven, and was never again to venture on the high seas. But the inexorable law of cause and effect, though ignored, could not be annulled. This system was based upon the negation of equality, and the modification of the principle of centralization. The latter principle was fully recognized, but in the organization of the government, the depositaries of power were increased and subjected to constitutional limitations. The King, Chamber of Peers, and Legislative Assembly, the different departments of government together represented the same centralized power, which under the empire, had found expression in a single head. Instead of one, several hands were to wield it. De Villile, de Corbiere, and de Bronald in vain demanded the freedom of the departments. The central authority, though not diminished, became clogged in its operations by formalities and enfeebled in any attempts at direct movements by division. The absence of unity was the cause of inherent weakness and in assuming a position above popular support, and independent of popular favor, it became self-reliant and imperious, without real strength. It preserved a blind antago-

nism to the results of the revolution. The proscription of equality in a state exhausted by war and bent on quiet was not difficult, but the task of supporting artificial distinctions could be performed only on condition that it should remain inactive. Delighted with the flattering illusions that presented themselves on every side, and mistaking present repose for natural order, no effort was made to conceal the nature, and no energy was lacking to accomplish the designs of the government. Scarcely, however, had the generation that had participated in the disasters, and borne the burdens of the revolution passed away, before symptoms of uneasiness and discontent were manifested. Things began to appear no longer as they seemed, but as they really were. Parties arose, the dividing lines were drawn, and the struggle commenced in earnest. An immense reaction took place. The monarchy, unwilling to acknowledge its claims, was powerless to check its encroachments, and the democracy gaining strength at every advance, and not wanting audacity, broke out in open revolt, and in the conflict overturned the government that despised it. In vain were the thousand years and more of glory it had conferred on France recalled; in vain was the sacred principle of divine right appealed to, and the horrors of another revolution foretold. The ancient régime found its last representative, and France her last King of the ancient style, by divine right, in Charles X. The popular element introduced by the revolution finally triumphed over an order of things in which its existence was denied, and broke the shackles which the ruling cast, with insufficient force, attempted to place upon it. The old régime proved itself inadequate to direct the agencies of the newly made society, freed from old restraints and fired with the vitality and enthusiasm of modern ideas. Divided in the exercise of authority, and resting upon an artificial foundation in the imperious attempt to govern arbitrarily, it was pretentious without power, and aroused without being able to crush opposition. The son of Philip Egalité Louis Philip, endowed by nature with good common sense, and educated in the school of adversity, took advantage of the popular movement, and styling himself King of the French people, essayed to organize a monarchy that should conform to the dimensions and necessities of modern society. This system rested upon a modification of both principles. Acknowledging the elective franchise as its basis, independent influences arose, that it had to consult, and that more or less directed its movements; and allowing freedom of the press it subjected itself to a discussion and criticism, which exposed its operations to the approval or condemnation of public opinion. It looked, therefore, for support outside of itself. It was to be popular enough to sustain itself without wielding the

central forces with the bold and unquestioned sweep of the empire; more moderate than its predecessor, it imagined there was less need of strength, and what it lacked of firmness it was to gain by friendship with the liberals.

It aspired to a compromise and based itself on the balanced interests of all parties and all classes. The central authorities were more shrinkingly exercised, and the claims of the democracy both more timidly denied and more generally allowed. By neutralizing two opposite principles it was to maintain itself and accomplish the ends of good government; under this system of checks and counterchecks, society became marvelously free. Its movements were characterized by an enthusiasm, vanity, and life, that had never before been reconciled with order. The problem appeared to be solved, and genuine liberty attained. While Guizot discussed and Thiers refined, the orators of the opposition thundered from the tribune. Works of reform and improvement were the order of the day. The democracy existing under a central form of administration and yet partially freed from its restraints, knew no bounds to its schemes of amelioration and progress. The fountains of abstract truth were opened and flowed in torrents over the unbroken plains of French society. The press teamed with plans and ideals; and religion and literature joined in the attempt to raise mankind above the actual, to the height of theories, which recognize only those principles that make man but "a little lower than the angels," and forgetful of the fall of Adam, would restore upon earth the properties of Paradise. Equality had broken down those barriers against speculation and lawlessness which still exist on the aristocratic declivities of English society, and centralization had absorbed all those local forms and processes which, in America, impede haste, thwart abstraction, and by delay insure wise judgments, thus rending the liberty of the individual consistent with the security of society. Unchecked by these influences, the democracy was indeed moving on in all its impetuosity towards experiments and exercises which are the unmistakable symptoms of approaching anarchy, sharp intrigues, pointed ridicule, ready complaint, desire for change, and a longing after higher forms of government were the first manifestations of the democracy which was soon to fall into boisterous clamors, violent outbreaks, and at last into organized and fearful rebellion against the monarchy that had sought its destruction while courting its favor. The government could make no show of opposition and at the very first alarm fell without a struggle. The very influences on which it relied for support were turned against it. The wave on which the King came into power, bore him far beyond his latitude and longitude, and the storm that gathered around

him he had neither the skill to direct, nor the courage to oppose. In giving up an energetic exercise of the central power, he delivered himself to exile, and society to anarchy. In ceasing to be *Roi des barricades*, he was unable to remain King of the French people.

Never, in the history of the world, had the principle of equality taken so deep and firm a place in the feelings of any people, and never was so much sacrificed to found it on an imperishable basis, and to give to it an unquestioned mastery and universal application. How many novel theories its higher logicians introduced into political science, and what strange elements were brought to mingle in political discussions.

The idea of equality in the enjoyment of civil rights so indestructibly planted in the minds and hearts of the nation, begot the desire for equality in political rights also, and hence grew up the republican party; but finally, under a rigid deduction and equalization of all the rights it is the fortune of mankind to enjoy, and of all the duties they are called upon to perform, was emphatically demanded; and hence arose communism and socialism. If men were created equal, and are members of one common family, why limit that equality to civil and political rights; why should not all property, honors, conditions of existence be equally and fairly distributed? Just so far forth as clothing, shelter, food, and physical comforts are more important to mankind than the possession of political rights, in this degree are the claims of equality with regard to the former more imperative than any questions respecting the latter. Hence the denial of perfect, entire, absolute equality is as obnoxious to socialism as the violation of political and civil rights is to republicanism. If to suppress freedom of speech and the elective franchise is despotic and tyrannical in the view of the latter, the unequal distribution and possession of wealth is robbery in the light of the former. Such was the extraordinary development of this idea, and its offsprings socialism and republicanism are as inimical as freedom and despotism. All these elements of equality united in the overthrow of the aristocratic dynasties of the elder and younger branch of the ancient monarchy; and having completed the destruction of traditional inequality under all its forms, began a more terrible struggle among themselves for the supremacy.

The republican, General Cavaignac, under the sanction of the Provisional Government, seized the reins of dictatorial power, and by powder, ball, and cannon, after several days' carnage, drove the infuriated masses from their street ramparts; while Lamartine, by his tender and persuasive eloquence, soothed the fierce passions of those who were willing to listen

to reason before beginning the work of aimless revolution. Order having been restored, preparations were made for the establishment of a republic; the most liberal form of government was to be joined to a despotic form of administration. This system was based upon the acknowledgment of both principles. The republic was to be despotic, and at the same time democratic. The principle of centralization and the principle of equality united, were to produce the result of genuine, civil, and political liberty. By the constitution, it was out of the legal power of the President to control the Assembly, and of the Assembly to control the President, while the administration and military forces were centered in the hands of the latter. Residing in a centralized capital, the center of social and intellectual life, holding in his hands the focus of a system of administration, from which in every direction, and through every channel radiate the wires of political action, plying the provincial agents as the mere puppets of his will, and directing the police of the nation, with an army habitually looking to him as the depository of its chief command as well as the only source of favor, the President, so far from being a simple executive officer, became a positive, active, and predominant power in the State. To pretend to permanence and force to guard the securities of life, property, and the conservative interests of the citizens, to stand for a moment against the enemies of order, authority was conferred upon him, which in consequence of the peculiar confirmation of society, destroyed the equilibrium of the Government, brought its different departments into clashing action, and rendered the subordination of one to the other unavoidable. Representing the principle of centralization, and clothed with its sovereign authorities, he was placed in direct antagonism with the Assembly which represented the equality of the people, which, without such representation, was not the less potent and pronounced. If the President should break down the legislature, no obstacle remained, no provincial liberties stood between him and the dictatorship; and if the Assembly could remove the President and usurp his office, it would be supreme, and might govern as it willed. Each was in the way of the other, and both in constant contact. The President saw only in the legislature even while in the exercise of its lawful functions, legalized anarchy, and in its slightest threats and encroachments, the sure approach of revolutionary misrule, while the legislature found him, exercising in point of fact, powers that continually menaced its own existence, and saw only in his movements indications of tyranny. Such was the real condition of affairs when Louis Napoleon, as one might have augured, closed the Hall of the Assembly, arrested its members, and

leaped into the vacant throne. Centralization had placed the power in his grasp, and though devoid of the legal right, in the turn of a hand, by a single coup d'état, he was able to destroy the republic. Those who look only at the material prosperity of the moment will regard this act as a bold and heroic step to rescue society from the perils of anarchy, and upon this ground justify and applaud him as the savior of France; those who value only the progress of ideas will look upon it as the selfish move of a cunning despot, and condemn him as a crowned cut-throat; others again will see it absolutely in neither of these aspects. However much one or the other may have contributed to it, they will discover the causes of the failure of the republic in neither the legislature nor the President, but in society itself. They will see in the boisterous turbulence, excited suspicions, and awkward menaces of the former, the national consequences of a representations, not of the liberties of the department and towns, not of local rights lodged in established institutions, but of certain abstract principles, embodied in an artificial constitution, which decreed freedom to the nation, and at the same time retained that very system of administration that rendered it incapable of enjoying it; and they will see nothing else in the bold usurpation of the latter than the true expression of the central power. The Assembly, in the attempt to impeach the President, was acting out its appointed part; and the President, in breaking down the Assembly, was but marching from accepted premises to legitimate conclusions. The question of moral right and wrong we do not discuss. If it be true that the State was in danger of anarchy, Louis Napoleon, as a patriot, was bound to dethrone anarchy and assume the reins of government; if not, though guilty of a wrong to his country, and age immeasurable in its wickedness, his easy success furnishes evidence of the existence of radical defects in society. What we have to do is rather with the causes that produced the crisis, the institutions that afforded the opportunity, and the principles that not only abide the result but strengthen its force. If the President of the United States, or Governor of a State should ridiculously attempt, and accidentally succeed in closing the legislative department of the Government, how far would he yet be from having crushed the liberties of the people? or, if a King of Great Britain, blinded for an instant by the insignia of regal power, should close Parliament to usurp its authority, how soon would not an indignant people drive him from the throne and wreak their vengeance on his head?

In either case, what wide spread fears and disorders, what organic convulsions, and what determined struggles would not have marked the issue, and to what depths would not the

passions of the panic-stricken communities have been aroused, and to what heights would they not have mounted? In France, on the contrary, the act that silenced the Assembly and destroyed the republic, was hailed and sanctioned in the capital, and throughout all the departments, as a timely measure, bracing up the tottering safeguards of private credit and public security, ensuring confidence to commerce, agriculture, and mechanical industry, quiet to city streets, and peace to family firesides.

It is the sole prerogative of paper constitutions to define not to create rights, and though the liberty of the people may be proclaimed a thousand times, it can only be maintained when they have once gained and afterwards closely secured it in local institutions. The latter may even exist without the former, but the converse of the proposition is not true. We witness in the career of the English people, the example of a nation without a written constitution, arriving at almost unparalleled greatness, and to the enjoyment of more civil and political freedom than any other on the earth, with the single exception of the United States. We seek in vain who was the author of the British constitution. What philosopher, what statesman, what poet hit upon the plan? By what hands, in what assembly, under what Plantagenet, Tudor, or Stuart was the gigantic instrument framed and adopted? The truth is, forms of government do not equal the conception of the state. Neither kings by legitimacy nor kings by election, neither the ephemeral idols of the mob, nor military chieftains, nor chosen presidents represent or comprise the idea. It little matters what expression may be given to the supreme authority, whether monarchy, republic, or empire, they will prove but its perishing types as long as corresponding changes are not effected in the forms of administration and the principles of society. To transfer the government of one nation to another totally different, as from Russia to the United States, or vice versa, is not more rash than to carve out a system from abstract theories and persuade or enforce its application. The history of France for the last fifty years, consisting of revolutions in forms of government, furnishes a striking instance of the futility of all efforts to accomplish internal reforms by external appliances, to change the principles of society from the outside, to give stability to systems however elaborately contrived and however much favored by circumstances at variance with its true nature. The monarchy, by Divine right, the monarchy by expediency, the romantic republic, notwithstanding the powerful extraneous and domestic influences that sustained them; in spite of long cherished traditions, of foreign arms and foreign diplomacy, of desire for repose and dread of rev-

olution, of unshaken devotion and bright martyrdom, were swept away like card castles, and society, so great were the obstacles, as if performing a political miracle, asserted and assumed the empire. After many struggles and painful convulsions, it reached again the system wrought out by the grand revolution and apparently in just conformity to itself. Centralization, absorbing municipal institutions and local freedom has a direct tendency to establish despotic power on the one hand and political equality on the other. The tendency of democracy is likewise to do away with inequalities of condition and all the gradations of power; it seeks simplicity in the construction of government and uniformity and despatch in legislation. Parliaments, courts, royalty, the routinal and illogical forms of constitutional monarchies; a restricted executive, courts, senates, the purifying yet tardy influence of local meetings, the complex processes of republics are broken to atoms by the thousand limbed democracy, impatient of restraint and unversed in true liberty. Thus apart these two principles seek each other, and together they afford mutual strength and support. The one is most fully developed and faithfully pictured in the military régime, and in the state represents order in its most rigid forms; the other, when not tied down by just laws, under the protection of local institutions and illumined by intelligence and morality, is the fruitful source of licentiousness and anarchy. The former takes away those very conditions, municipal institutions, which form the only reliable basis of liberal governments and render the latter not only consistent with their stability, but jealously guard it as an essential element and the crowning glory of their excellence. Under a centralized form of administration, society is compelled to renounce liberty for the sake of order; to avoid lawlessness and confusion, it is obliged to seek the protection and to suffer the evils of arbitrary power. The centripetal is necessary to preserve the harmonious movement of the centrifugal forces. The Napoleonic dynasty, based upon the popular will, and yet bearing a crowned head and an iron hand, acknowledges the supremacy of these two principles, and invokes one and the other as the foundation at the same time of its strength and its popularity. Hence they naturally form the empire as the only logical expression of French society.

Although the origin of this Government is popular, its powers are absolute and its reign arbitrary. Acknowledging the elective franchise as its basis, and the will of the people as the only source of authority, every manifestation of opposition is repressed, and every organ, for the expression of opinion, silenced, and thus, in the name of all, the liberties of each and every citizen are destroyed. Ceasing to be the instrument of society

it becomes its irresponsible master, and controls, supervises, cares for the citizen, down to the most trifling details. The agent assumes the place of the principal, the creature usurps the rights of the creator. Its own security and perfection are made the object to which all else is sacrificed in violation of the obvious truth, that political institutions exist and are valuable only as the indispensable means, the subordinate instruments, for the advancement and happiness of mankind. Hence its inherent evils are no less palpable than the passing benefits it may confer. It introduces order, regularity, and uniformity into society, and accomplishes its objects with a swiftness and brilliancy unknown to more complex systems. Diplomacy, foreign wars, internal improvements, whether for utility or embellishment, yielding to the guidance of a single hand, may be conducted with more unity, higher skill, greater combined energy, and less halting indecision than under the representative form. Justice is administered with more speed but perhaps less fairness, and the fine arts, under the lavish prodigality of the court, may receive higher culture and more liberal support; and although popular education and literature are confined within a narrow circle, the physical sciences and abstruse learning in general, may be fostered with generous care. In all schemes of amelioration, however, the safety and convenience of the government are consulted rather than the interests of the people. In the banishment of personal independence, of political individuality, of freedom of thought and speech, by limiting the bounds of liberty to national development, and crushing all spontaneous action, patriotism is confounded with allegiance, enterprise and energy become enervated, public spirit is exiled, all greatness of soul, all love of knowledge and faith in the dignity and sublimity of man's destiny are replaced by a spirit of materialism, of cringing servility and passive obedience. The varying precision and uniformity, pushed to the furthest extreme, and descending to the smallest details, curb the original growth and check the expansion of the natural forces of the state, and ultimately the sources of strength become sources of weakness. The brilliant hue that administrative excellence casts over the external affairs of the nation conceals the disease and decay introduced upon its vitals interests within.

This form of government possesses the elements of permanency while the fortune of the individual rulers may be subject to frequent reverses. Centralization renders a republic impossible, and democratic equality can make no compromise with the monarchy of which it is the determined foe. So long, therefore, as municipal institutions and local rights are annulled, no permanent alteration can be made, and every

temporary change effected by sudden violence, will be followed by a speedy and terrible reaction. Individual rulers may become unpopular, the hand that holds the sceptre may be struck down, but the sceptre will not disappear. The throne, though unoccupied, will survive the fortunes of the personal occupants and become the seat of him who has the courage and ability to wield the central power. The Napoleons may be exiled, their dynasty become a thing of history, others will arise, the Empire must remain—the true image of the supreme authority indestructible and imperishable until reforms in the internal organization are effected. The causes that created will continue to preserve the Empire, and until they are removed, assassinations, revolts, and revolutions, will in vain transpire. The same relentless destiny will brood over France, foiling her noblest efforts at deliverance. The same right will hang its dark draperies around her, no matter what constellations may rule the hour, what names may guide her destinies.

The greatest danger possible from this form of administration, hardly to be apprehended in extended and agricultural States, is, that in consequence of the power lodged in the ruler and the immense predominance given to the cause of order, the civil and moral interests of society will become so materially depressed, the public mind and energies so enervated, that the government may degenerate into a pure military despotism, and the highest office falling within the gift of a corrupt overbearing soldiery, may become the prize of reckless and ambitious adventurers. Hence arise these lamentable revolutions that involve no principles and destroy without creating anew, begetting civil strife and dissension, which are the most frequent and melancholy causes of the decay of states.

History furnishes no examples so perfect of centralized and localized forms of government, as in the instance of ancient Lacedæmonia and Æthica, and none in which the results of the two systems are placed in so just and striking a contrast. Under the system of the former country, society was kept in perpetual pupillage, not only as regards its public political interests, but the laws of state penetrated even the privacy of domestic life, and supplanting the rights and authority of the parent, directed the education and training of their offspring. Every man, woman, and child became the mere machines of government, units as it were of an overshadowing whole, and were obliged to assume the tastes, sentiments, and occupations, assigned by it; the attributes of the state were deified, and political idolatry overspread the land.

A blind worship of the enacted law, and a servile abnegation of self, marked the unvaried life of the citizen and ren-

dered him incapable of aspirations above obedience to authority; and thus, though Sparta has presented to the world sublime spectacles of the devotion of her sons, resting upon instinctive patriotism, and sustained by heroic valor, a sentiment shared by the untutored savage in common with the civilized man, we seek in vain, through the sterile pages of her history, for the exhibition of any of these higher characteristics that distinguish and result from civilized society. In Athica, on the contrary, slaveholding and democratic, every freeman was a power in the state, a recognized legislator, not only privileged, but by the force of opinion, compelled to exercise his just influence on public affairs. The public business was regarded as every man's business; and he who from that pride and exclusiveness which the possession of wealth in free nations engenders, or from that indifference which the earnest pursuit of private interests begets, withdrew from the responsibilities of public matters, from the noisy contests of the democracy, and abandoned the affairs of his country to the idle, the vicious, and the vulgar, was stigmatized as an *idios*, which word at first signified one who attended exclusively to his own personal interests, but afterwards on account of the gravity and folly of neglecting public duties, came to mean an idiot, to designate a citizen who was a downright fool. Any Athenian who despised politics, and refused to contribute whatever dignity and wisdom his character and education enabled him, to the laws of his country, and who was so rash as to imagine that his liberties would remain secure, though deserted, bore the opprobrium of being not a bad man, but an *idios*—a man wanting sense—an idiot—an epithet which shows the discriminating justice of the Grecian mind. Under this system we witness the development of every grace and every greatness that elevate, adorn, and inspire mankind. Athens is a charmed word, not only to the scholar, but to every man with intelligence to perceive and heart to appreciate excellence in human virtue, or greatness and splendor in the varied and exalted achievements of the human mind. Her soil gave birth to those crowned kings of thought, who, for more than two thousand years, have swayed the sceptre over the understanding and passions of mankind, and who, when the Parthenon and Acropolis, the last relics of her artistic genius, shall have crumbled into dust, will still survive in all their original power and beauty, in the affections and homage of endless generations.

On the one hand, there is the simple sentiment of courage in the midst of a wide waste without any signs of life or vitality, and the fame of the battle-fields and heroes, shines with a lustre increased by the surrounding obscurity; on the other,

there is history, eloquence, philosophy, poetry, and art, which halo and consecrate the land that gave them birth. The only legacy left by the former is the fearful warning contained in the example she furnished of a system of government, that so far from fostering human improvement, cursed its very soil with eternal barrenness; the priceless heritage the world has received from the latter, has given to modern literature and art their finest forms, and to philosophical and political science their grandest truths.

Venice, also, under a central oligarchy, in her three hundred years of Duay existence, did not accomplish a single fact, and scarcely left a single name that can be looked upon with satisfaction and reverence; and if we turn to the eastern world, we behold those immense populations to whom nature, in vain, holds out the bounteous prodigality of her riches, and surrounds with all her loveliest accidents and sublimest works, dwelling in the midst of vast moral and intellectual deserts, ending where they begin, and passing like bound captives from birth to death, within the narrow circle of a paralyzing and remorseless centralization.

In the infancy of the human race, the patriarchal form may have had its advantages, but whenever it has been borne beyond the family and applied to organized nations; if in their youth they have never risen into power and greatness; if already mature, they have begun to decline; and if in decay, they have sacrificed the last hope of resuscitation. Even Rome, notwithstanding her admirable system of municipal institutions, when honesty and virtue ceased to sway her councils, and the pillars of her greatness were shaken upon their deep foundations, when the golden age of the traitor, the coward, and the slave, began to dawn on her everlasting summits, sought a refuge in the energetic and arbitrary rule of a single will, fell into the encircling folds of centralization, and perished like Lemale in the terrible embrace of the lightning-clad Jove.

And now, in our own age, France having for the sake of equality, overthrown the ancient monarchy, assumes this same form of administration in all its vigor under the Imperial rule, and notwithstanding the patriotic disposition assigned Napoleon III. and the apparent prosperity of affairs, when closely scrutinized there will be discovered, the premonitory symptoms, if not the actual presence of the evils that may result from a continuance of the system.

Under Louis Philippe were initiated those schemes of internal improvements which are being completed with imperial eclat at the present time, the army which won so many laurels in the Crimea, was organized and disciplined under the same mild administration, and whatever of general intelligence and

intellectual cultivation exists, must be attributed in a large measure to the liberty enjoyed, and the impetus given to popular education under that sagacious Prince. The empire reaps a harvest sown by other hands, and by means of skillful diplomacy gives to France that predominance on the continent due her geographical position and internal power, while at the same time its tendencies are to exhaust the resources of the people. The national debt is swelling to an unprecedented magnitude, and the annual budget outstrips by millions the revenue; the taxes, both direct and indirect have been vastly increased and press heavily on every branch of industry; the fund set aside for popular education, has been otherwise appropriated, and the national forests are levelled to raise means to throw a veil of splendor over the Napoleonic dynasty. Under the influence of an extravagant court, the love of luxury and display, creating an unexampled state of feverish speculation and financial gambling, indicates the approach of that feebleness of spirit which prefers "bondage with ease to strenuous liberty," favored by government the jesuits have returned, and freely disseminate their pernicious doctrines, while the independent press is silenced, teachers of political economy dismissed their chairs, and the highest intellects of the nation languish in disfavor at home or in exile abroad. Thiers, Michalet, Mignet, Villemain, Cousin, Mountalembert are limited to the consideration of topics, not disagreeable to the government, while Lamartine, the romantic philosopher and poetic statesman, from the midst of his isolated toil for subsistence, in bitter anguish and disappointment, exclaims "mankind are incapable of progress." The venerable Guizot in the shades of retirement turns to England for subjects to engage his vast and piercing intellect, and in tracing the career of his friend Sir Robert Peel, utters the melancholy regret, that he had not like him "perished in his prime." Victor Hugo casts over the sorrows of exile the mild radiance of party, and Louis Blanc, no longer dreaming of human perfectibility, busies his pen in historic lore. The academy, the last refuge of intellectual liberty, is filled with despair so deep and profound that it colors even its literary festivals. The Duke des Broglie, in his recent inaugural address, likens himself, having occupied the highest posts of his country, to the Roman Leberus, who, after reaching the throne of the Cæsars, at the moment of his death, feeling the utter vanity of human improvement, exclaims, *omnia fui et nihil expedit*; but as if catching hope from the midst of despair, turns again, and in the same breath, and with a fine voice cries out, "*laboremus.*"

The parallelism, though pointedly significant, is not complete. Discouraging as these facts may be, and pregnant as

they are with solemn warnings, we are far from believing that France has begun her decadence, and that under a long line of emperors she is to close the final chapters of her eventful history. The agents of modern progress are so elastic and multiplied, the elements of christian civilization so subtle, vital, and harmonizing, and the great masses of the people have been raised comparatively to so exalted a position that the ruling power, if it do not sympathize with it, is compelled to yield to the ceaseless movement and progressive development of ideas. Commerce, agriculture, the mechanic arts, and general opinion, finding publicity in spite of prohibition, combats the tendencies of unrestricted power, and brace society against its petrifying influences. In no nation is the literature and intellect so universal in its bearings against restrictions on the the rights of the people, so little conservative, and so direct and unyielding in its opposition to every kind of arbitrary authority. Not only writers on political science and philosophy, but poets and novelists devote their talent and genius in favor of the freest systems of thought, the most liberal forms of government, and to the largest and fullest development of the individual man. And if their influence in the 18th century was as potent as it has been described, and lead so unmistakably to the grand revolution, surely in an age so entirely in harmony with their views, when their number has vastly increased, and the means of reaching the people multiplied, their power cannot be less pronounced and efficacious. The peculiar character of this people unfits them to continue long the subjects of an absolute government. If they were tame and docile, or indifferent and desponding by nature, we might not look for any alleviation, but it is difficult to reconcile with voluntary or slavish submission to political servitude—that clear perception of principles, that obstinate perseverance, that wealth of enthusiasm and action, and that unshaken heroism, which sustained and led them, for the sake of equality, through the perils and horrors of three revolutions in less than half a century, and when opposed by the crowned heads of Europe, bore their flag triumphant to the ramparts of every capital from Madrid to Moscow. Having expended so much treasure and blood to establish political equality, and thus having laid the broad foundations, they certainly have not so exhausted their resources as to be incapable of creating the edifice of their public liberties. All that may be desired cannot be accomplished at once, and nations as well as individuals are compelled to adopt expedients as temporary necessities, and to await the season when new efforts may be put forth with greater chances of success. Nor is it sufficient that the evils of a system are seen; they must be felt before nations are willing to venture upon

their destruction. As yet, those that grow out of Imperial centralization are visible only within the circle of political reflection and individual observation, but when passing from the domain of theoretical discussion, they shall have descended among the great masses of the people, when they shall have become larger, deeper, and more aggravated, and borne their bitter fruits, then we may look for one of those popular explosions which avenge the people's wrongs and establish political rights. "Laboremus" was the parting exhortation of the aged minister of Louis Philippe, and indicates that the spirit of the ancient Gaulois is not yet extinct, and under its direction we believe that the century that gave it birth shall witness the overthrow of the Napoleonic dynasty, and the establishment of constitutional freedom. Our despair can never rise to the height of our confidence and hope in the men and civilization of our times. But, however, the question may be decided, the result will add another to the many instructive lessons which France has given to the world, and which have rendered her by terms an object of the hate, the admiration, the pity, and the dread of mankind.

COTTON TRADE OF THE SOUTHWEST—NEW ORLEANS, 1855-56.

We are indebted for the following to the annual digest of the New Orleans Prices Current, one of the ablest commercial expositors in the world.

The past season has been remarked by several interesting and somewhat peculiar features to which our limited space will allow us to make but brief reference.

The market opened unusually early upon the *new crop*, the receipts being greatly in advance of any previous season, and thus there was afforded scope for operations at an unusually early period. The first receipt of new crop was on the 26th of July, from Mississippi, and up to the 1st of September there had been received 23,282 bales of the new crop; being an amount nearly three times greater than had come to market in the same period in any previous year, and exceeding the receipts to the same time in the big crop year of 1852-53 in the amount of 18,205 bales. The year opened with a good inquiry, at a range of 8½a9¼ cents for Low Middling to Middling, and soon the demand became unusually active, resulting in sales during the month of 96,000 bales, against receipts of 124,000 bales; being much the largest business ever done in the month of September. At the same time prices were well sustained, notwithstanding the prevalence of high rates of freight, as the certainty of a more ample supply of tonnage led many parties to purchase and hold for a period of cheaper transportation. The bulk of the business was done at a range of 8½a9¼ cents for Low Middling to Middling. At the close of the month, however, the business was checked by the tenor of the European advices, which, instead of reporting an advance on Cotton on the announcement of the taking of Sebastapol by the Allies, brought intelligence of a slight decline at Liverpool, the high prices of money checking any tendency to speculative movements. Under these circumstances, and with continued high rates of freight, prices gave way early in October, and fluctuated during the month between 7½a8 and 8½a9¼ cents for Low Middling to Middling with reported sales of 151,600 bales. The foreign advices continuing unfavorable, the market, about the middle of November, reached its lowest point, which was 7¼a7½ cents for Low Middling 7½a8½ cents for Middling, but soon recovered again, under a favorable turn in the Liverpool market, and a decline in the rates of freight. The reported sales of the month were 193,600 bales, and the extreme fluctuations 7¼a7½ and 8½a9¼ cents for Low Middling to

Middling. The month of December opened at $8\frac{1}{2}a9\frac{1}{2}$ cents extremes for Low Middling to Middling, but under adverse accounts from Europe, caused mainly by the pressure in the money market, and an advance in the rates of freight, prices gave way again, closing at $7\frac{1}{2}a8\frac{1}{2}$ cents, with reported sales during the month of 244,400 bales. January opened at $7\frac{1}{2}a8\frac{1}{2}$, and the European advices continued of a rather unfavorable character, but notwithstanding this, with a marked falling off in the receipts (owing to bad roads and falling rivers) and easier rates of freight, the market recovered during the month to $8\frac{1}{2}a9$ cents. Reported sales 241,400 bales. February was entered upon at a range of $8\frac{1}{2}a9$ cents for Low Middling to Middling, but under advices of the opening of peace negotiations speculation was excited, and aided in carrying up prices, about the middle of the month, to $8\frac{1}{2}a9\frac{1}{2}$ cents. Reported sales of the month 202,000 bales. In March the opening prices were $8\frac{1}{2}a9\frac{1}{2}$, with an active demand, which, under the almost certainty of speedy peace, continued through the month, and with lower rates of freight a further slight advance was realized, the extreme quotations at the close, for Low Middling to Middling, being $8\frac{1}{2}a9\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The reported sales of the month were 298,500 bales, embracing one week of 85,500 bales; being the largest week's business, by 5,800 bales, ever transacted in this market, and exceeding the receipts of the week in the amount of 32,600 bales. One day's sales, embraced in the week, reached 26,000 bales, which was the largest amount ever sold in one day in this market. Early in April, the rates reached $9a9\frac{1}{2}$ for Low Middling to Middling, and continued to move upward, under the influence of reduced freights, advanced changes, favorable European advices and the movements of speculative operators, attaining at the close, to $10\frac{1}{2}a10\frac{1}{2}$, with some few sales reported at 11 cents for Strict Liverpool Middling. The amount of sales reported during the month was 214,700 bales. At this point of the market, there was quite a general withdrawal of buyers for shipment the rapid appreciation of prices, mainly through speculative movements, having thrown the rates too far beyond their limits. Under these circumstances May opened at $10a10\frac{1}{2}$ cents for Low Middling to Middling, and closed at $9\frac{1}{2}a10\frac{1}{2}$ cents, with reported sales for the month of 131,000 bales. At the opening of June, the stock on sale was reduced to an unusually low point for the period of the season, and consisted mainly of the grades below Middling, while the demand was almost exclusively for *clean* Cotton, ranging from Strict Middling to Good Middling and Middling Fair, which descriptions were very scarce, and generally held above the orders or views of buyers. Under these circumstances, and with continued light receipts, the amount of business rapidly fell off, though what little was done was at farther advanced prices, the market opening at $9\frac{1}{2}a10\frac{1}{2}$ for Low Middling to Middling, and closing at $10\frac{1}{2}a11$ cents, with reported sales for the month of 53,400 bales, against the receipts in the same period of only 30,000 bales. And with the month of June the business of the season may be said to have virtually closed, as the stock on sale had become so reduced and prices had so appreciated, that the great majority of buyers had closed their season's operations and taken their departure. The entire sales of July and August barely amounted to 29,000 bales, against receipts of only 15,500 bales, and the prevailing prices were $10a10\frac{1}{2}$ cents for Low Middling and $10\frac{1}{2}a10\frac{1}{2}$ cents for Middling. The season closes with a stock unsold, in first and second hands, not exceeding 2,500 bales, a part of which is low Cotton of the old crop, which has long been held under limits. The total reported sales during the season sum up 1,862,500 bales, which is about 100,000 bales in excess of the receipts, but probably this excess does not fully indicate the extent of the local speculative movements as occasional sales of considerable magnitude are made which are not allowed to reach the public.

And thus has been disposed of, with a promptitude and rapidity without a parallel, the largest amount of cotton ever received at this port in any one year, and at an average price, too, that must be highly remunerative to the planter, while we are pleased to learn that the general Cotton account-current for the year, between this country and Europe, is likely to present a fair balance on the credit side.

We have already stated that the early receipts of the new crop were unusually abundant, and we now add that they were also of an unusually high average of quality, up to the latter part of September, when the effects of a storm

that had previously occurred were prominently presented in a sudden and remarkable falling off in the character of the receipts, and this change, aided by subsequent unfavorable circumstances, such as severe frosts, &c., has run through the remainder of the season, reducing the general average of the crop below Middling. And thus it has been that for the greater part of the year the supply of Middling to Good Middling descriptions has not been equal to the demand, and for months past the market may almost be said to have been bare of them, as they could only occasionally be met with in limited parcels. Indeed, for the period last mentioned the scarcity has embraced Middling Fair, and several Spanish vessels, which usually take Good Middling to Middling Fair, and which arrived in the latter part of June, are yet here awaiting cargoes, these qualities having been exhausted in the old crop, after reaching the high figures of 11½-12½ cents per pound, early in July.

We may note as a prominent feature of the season's operations, their more than ordinary speculative character. The probability of continued war, or a restoration of peace, entered largely into the calculation of chances, while a wide diversity in the estimates of crop constituted another element among the incentives to action. And thus it was that many of the accustomed operators were comparatively sparing in their purchases, while other parties, more confident, came forward and operated freely.

The following tables, which show the monthly fluctuations in prices, with the rates of freight to Liverpool, and of Sterling Exchange, will readily indicate the course of the market through the entire season, and by reference to them it will be seen that the extreme fluctuation in Middling Cotton has been 3½ cents per pound, the lowest point being in November, and the highest in April, June, and July, and the average price of all qualities has been about 9 cents per pound, against 9 1-16 cents last year, and 8½ cents the year previous. The average weight of the bales we have ascertained to be 455 pounds, against 444 pounds last year, and 448 the year previous; and the aggregate weight of the portion of the crop received at this port is 800,478,315 pounds.

Table showing the quotations for Middling Cotton on the first of each month, with the Rate of Freight to Liverpool, and Sterling Bills, at same date.

1855-'56.	Middling.	Sterling. Per ct. prem.	Freight. d. per lb.
September.....	8½ a 9	8½ a 9½	— a ½
October.....	8½ a 9½	7½ a 8½	— a ½
November.....	8 a 8½	6½ a 7½	— a ½
December.....	8½ a 9½	6½ a 7½	— a 9-16
January, 1856.....	8½ a 8½	6½ a 7½	½ a 11-16
February.....	8½ a 9	6 a 7½	— a ½
March.....	9½ a 9½	7½ a 8½	— a ½
April.....	9½ a 9½	7½ a 8½	9-16 a ½
May.....	10½ a 10½	8½ a 9½	5-16 a 11-32
June.....	10½ a 10½	9 a 9½	— a 11-32
July.....	10½ a 11	9½ a 9½	— a ½
August.....	10½ a 10½	9 a 10	— a 7-16

Table showing the highest and lowest point in each month, for Low Middling to Middling Cotton.

1855-'56.	Highest.	Lowest.
September.....	9 a 9½	8½ a 8½
October.....	8½ a 9½	7½ a 8
November.....	8½ a 9½	7½ a 7½
December.....	8½ a 9½	7½ a 8½
January, 1856.....	8½ a 9	7½ a 8½
February.....	9 a 9½	8½ a 8½
March.....	9½ a 9½	8½ a 8½
April.....	10½ a 10½	9 a 9½
May.....	10½ a 10½	9½ a 10½
June.....	10½ a 11	9½ a 10½
July.....	10½ a 11	10½ a 10½
August.....	10½ a 10½	10 a 10½

The total receipts at this port since the 1st September last, *from all sources*, are 1,759,293 bales. This amount includes 65,829 bales received from Mobile, Florida, and Texas *by sea*; and this being deducted, our receipts proper, including 37,081 bales received direct from Montgomery, Wetumpka, &c., are shown to be 1,693,964 bales; being an increase as compared with last year of 445,797 bales, and an excess over 1852-'53 of 89,975 bales. The total exports since the 1st September, are 1,795,023 bales, of which 986,622 bales were shipped to Great Britain, 244,814 to France, 341,487 to the North and South of Europe, and 222,100 to United States ports. The total receipts at *all the Atlantic and Gulf ports*, up to the latest dates received, as shown by our General Cotton Table, are 3,492,658 bales; but the actual crop, when made up to the 1st of September, by the New York Shipping and Commercial List, with the difference of stocks at Augusta and Hamburg, receipts overland, &c., will not be far from 3,520,000 bales; an inc'e of 672,661 bales as compared with the crop of last year.

We have thus shown the distribution of that portion of the crop exported from this port, and will now proceed to give some general statistics connected with the Cotton Trade, which will be of more or less interest to producers, dealers, and consumers.

The following tables, which have explanatory captions, we have compiled from our records, under the impression that they would probably be found interesting to parties engaged in the Cotton Trade:

SEASONS.	Receipts at N. Orleans.	Av. price per bale.	Total Value.
1844-45	979,238	\$24 00	23,501,712
1845-46	1,053,633	32 00	33,716,256
1846-47	740,669	44 00	32,589,436
1847-48	1,213,805	29 00	35,200,345
1848-49	1,142,382	27 00	30,844,314
1849-50	837,723	50 00	41,886,150
1850-51	995,036	49 00	48,756,764
1851-52	1,429,183	34 00	48,592,222
1852-53	1,664,864	41 00	68,259,424
1853-54	1,440,779	38 00	54,749,602
1854-55	1,284,768	40 00	51,390,720
1855-56	1,759,293	40 00	70,371,720

Total 12 years..... 14,541,373 \$539,858,665

It will be seen by the above table that the Cotton alone sold in this market, within the past twelve years, has yielded a gross product of \$539,858,665.

Date of Receipt of First Bale.	Receipts of new crop to September 1.	Total Receipts at New Orleans.	Total crop of the United States.
1844.. July 23	5,720	1844-45.. 979,238	2,394,503
1845.. July 30	6,846	1845-46.. 1,053,633	2,100,537
1846.. Aug. 7	140	1846-47.. 740,669	1,778,651
1847.. Aug. 9	1,089	1847-48.. 1,213,805	2,347,634
1848.. Aug. 5	2,864	1848-49.. 1,142,382	2,728,596
1849.. Aug. 7	477	1849-50.. 837,723	2,098,706
1850.. Aug. 11	67	1850-51.. 995,036	2,355,257
1851.. July 25	3,155	1851-52.. 1,429,183	3,015,029
1852.. Aug. 2	5,077	1852-53.. 1,664,864	3,262,882
1853.. Aug. 9	74	1853-54.. 1,440,779	2,930,027
1854.. July 25	1,391	1854-55.. 1,284,768	2,847,339
1855.. July 26	23,282	1855-56.. 1,759,293	3,520,000*
1856.. July 15	1,166		

*Estimate

As for the coming crop, we adhere to our rule, long since adopted, to avoid estimates, for at this early period of the season the chances for the future are so wrapt in uncertainty, from the various vicissitudes which may arise, that no precise can penetrate them, nor calculation reach them, with any assurance of approaching a correct result. We may remark, however, from our information and observation, that preparations were made for quite a full crop, and gene-

rally with fair prospects, though the backwardness of the crop as compared with that of last year, which has been asserted for months past, and which is demonstrated by the great difference in receipts, we conceive to be not at all in its favor, as it shortens the time for gathering, and the essential requisite for securing a full yield is a long and favorable picking season. Under no circumstances, however, is the crop likely to exceed the requirements of the trade, and it gives us pleasure to observe that whatever it may be, it has flattering prospects for ready sales, at remunerating prices. In calculations of crop it should be borne in mind that probably in no former year was there so small a proportion of the old crop left in the interior, whereas in the receipts of last year it was estimated that there were included about 150,000 to 200,000 bales of the crop of 1854. Thus the supply of this year will depend almost exclusively upon the year's production. We are gratified to learn that the severe storm of the 10th August, did not extend far into the interior, and that the damage to the crop is not likely to be as serious as was at first apprehended, the principal effect being some delay in the picking operations and injury to the quality of the small portion of the crop that was open.

The first bale of the *new crop* came from the southernmost part of Texas, and was received at the unusually early period of 15th July, but the first bale from the Mississippi Valley was not received until August 6th, which was eleven days later than the first receipt from the same section last year, and the total receipts of new crop up to this date are only 1,166 bales, against 23,282 bales last year, with every motive to send forward early. Of this quantity about 400 bales have been sold, in small lots, generally at a range of 10½ to 12½ cents for Low Middling Fair, but these small transactions cannot be taken as a fair opening of the market, and we must await more ample receipts and sales before the position of the market can be indicated.

It may be proper to remark that the quality of the crop received thus far does not compare favorably with the early receipts of last year, being in most instances deficient in staples, color, and cleanness. It should be borne in mind, however, that the receipts thus far are from regions of country that were exposed to the action of the late storm, and are too limited in quantity to be taken as any fair indication of what the general character of the crop may be. It should also be remembered that the crop of last year was remarkable for its excellence, up to the storm of the middle of September.

Mixed Cotton.—The frequent complaints which we hear induce us to call the attention of planters to the existence of an evil which we have often before adverted to, and which loudly calls for a remedy. We allude to the culpable negligence of many whose duty it is to attend to the picking of Cotton, as shown by the frequent discovery of *mixed bales*, viz:—bales found to contain two, three or more qualities and colors. This negligence often leads to vexatious reclamations, and sometimes to expensive law suits, as it frequently happens that the discovery is not made until the Cotton reaches the hands of the manufacturer, at a distant market. But it also frequently happens that the discovery is made here, by drawing samples from different parts of a bale. In such cases the Cotton is thrown back on the factor's hands as *unmerchantable*, and when resold as *mixed Cotton* the factor can seldom obtain more than the market value of the *lowest quality found in the bale*. Besides all this, when the irregular packing is once discovered, as it necessarily must be somewhere and at sometime, it throws discredit upon the planter's crop generally, and thus operates to his disadvantage. It also introduces confusion into a most important branch of the trade, and one that can only be conducted with facility and economy upon the basis of good faith in the honesty and integrity of the planter. These virtues being accorded to him he owes it to himself, to his factor, and to his purchaser to exercise more care and vigilance over those who have his interests in charge. We have adverted to this matter, on frequent occasions, for years past, but thus far, it would seem, without effect; for the evil has increased instead of diminishing, and probably in no former year has so large a proportion of the crop been liable to the objection referred to. At the special request of both factors and purchasers we earnestly call attention to the matter again, and trust that this appeal will awaken some attention, for in reality and truth the evil is a serious one.

COMMERCE OF MOBILE, 1856-'56.

Exports of Cotton to Foreign Ports from Mobile for two years, ending August 31.

	1856.			1855.		
EXPORTS TO FOREIGN PORTS, &c.	Bales.	Pounds.	Value.	Bales.	Pounds.	Value.
To Great Britain—In Am. vessels..	163639	83186396	\$7222334 00	186917	67942252	\$5953566
Do. do. British vessels..	189051	96292252	8409352 67	78831	39040092	3240205
Do. do. Bremen vessels.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total to Great Britain.....	351690	179472568	15625686 67	215348	106982284	\$9195775
To France—In American vessels...	90809	50025392	4293540 00	109690	54674008	\$4600043
Do. French vessels.....	.....	.....	.....	1400	709806	56363
Total to France.....	90809	50025392	4293540 00	111090	55384114	\$4716406
To Spain—In American vessels.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Do. Spanish vessels.....	5017	2599674	208184 00	3777	1785370	\$197945
Total to Spain.....	5017	2599674	208184 00	3777	1785370	\$197945
To Russia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
To Holland.....	995	499222	53926 00	2900	1452368	110295
To Belgium.....	2901	5142812	481778 00	2539	1239088	106887
To Hamburg and Bremen.....	10779	5591076	484625 00	2813	1361556	141142
To Sardinia and Austria.....	3050	1610044	136487 00	1939	955114	85062
To Sweden.....	7381	3799952	339087 00	.....	.....	.....
To Mexico.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total to other Foreign Ports....	82066	16632506	1427801 00	10196	5052346	\$446879
Grand Total.....	435095	248730100	21614661 67	340311	169204614	\$14555803

Comparative view of Foreign and Coastwise Exports of Cotton from the port of Mobile for six years.

Ports.	1855-'56	1854-'55	1853-'54	1852-'53	1851-'52	1850-'51
Liverpool.....	340,812	313,616	227,417	295,010	296,542	238,762
Bristol and Hull.....	5,188	.....	.....	4,725	8,824	.....
Glasgow and Greenock.....	5,695	1,682	3,768	10,318	7,147	8,615
Cowes and a market.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,741
Belfast.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total to Great Britain.....	351,090	315,348	231,185	240,048	307,513	250,118
Havre.....	94,012	109,690	76,756	55,584	91,364	44,049
Rochelle.....	1,946	1,400	.....	.....	480	.....
Marseilles.....	804	.....	.....	1,716	2,843	694
Nantz, &c.....	.....	.....	.....	574	1,780	902
Total to France.....	96,262	111,090	76,756	57,284	95,917	46,065
Amsterdam and Rotterdam.....	955	2,900	2,960	1,134	2,695	800
Antwerp.....	9,901	2,599	6,067	1,000	4,182	1,263
Hamburg, Bremen, St. Peterab'g	10,779	2,813	3,894	4,758	2,009	1,500
Stockholm, Ghent, &c.....	7,881	.....	1,585	1,566	.....	1,351
Barcelona, &c.....	5,017	3,777	7,858	4,921	5,461	13,892
Vera Cruz, &c.....	.....	.....	635	3,899	102	.....
Genoa, Trieste, &c.....	3,050	1,939	4,483	3,457	8,478	3,895
Other Ports.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,181	3,731
Total to other Foreign Ports.....	37,083	13,973	27,392	20,810	27,048	26,373
New York.....	28,492	31,356	35,319	45,306	63,205	27,851
Boston.....	65,307	26,986	43,183	49,187	42,105	32,690
Providence.....	17,672	15,910	28,390	25,183	21,456	5,997
Philadelphia.....	2,975	2,113	5,267	9,768	4,835	2,751
Baltimore.....	4,548	2,922	3,921	2,826	3,276	2,077
New Orleans.....	78,707	32,097	30,758	62,319	37,243	43,524
Other Ports.....	8,885	1,800	2,871	601	.....	250
Total Coastwise.....	196,295	113,134	144,714	195,290	144,626	112,890
Grand Total.....	631,321	453,485	480,077	543,962	575,194	426,376

Recapitulation.

Great Britain.....	351,690	215,248	231,185	240,048	307,513	250,118
France.....	96,262	111,090	76,756	87,824	95,917	46,005
Other Foreign Ports.....	87,083	18,973	27,392	20,510	27,045	26,378
Total Foreign Ports.....	435,035	345,311	335,363	348,382	430,475	322,496
Total United States Ports.....	196,286	113,124	144,714	195,280	144,026	113,880
Grand Total.....	631,321	458,435	480,077	543,662	574,501	436,376

Comparative view of the Imports and Stocks of the following Staple Articles.

Articles.	Imported into the Port of Mobile.					Stocks in hands of dealers Aug. 31.				
	1856-5	1854-5	1853-4	1852-3	1851-2	1856	1855	1854	1853	1852
Bagging.....pcas.	2655	20234	21010	29870	21260	3595	5053	3013	3850	1812
Rope.....coils.	86873	27690	21283	32466	17988	1263	4290	3374	5343	2000
Bacon, sides, sh., hhd.	11879	14140	15020	15841	18488	430	325	454	331	563
Hams.....tierces.	2958	3282	.....	.....	.....	86	134	.....	.....	.....
Beef.....bbls.	1057	1154	.....	.....	.....	242	167	.....	.....	.....
Coffee.....bags.	35255	25162	21190	30721	29027	4164	1196	1476	4925	1295
Cotton—Ala., bales.	759112	466328	.....	.....	.....	5005	23233	.....	.....	.....
Florida, bales.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas, bales.	.....	574	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Flour.....bbls.	51804	43045	61113	75173	86756	2222	1363	1843	1543	998
Do. Alabama, sacks.	4298	780	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Corn—Ala., shell, sks.	50112	11958	174230	165858	100615	2277	5535	7434	9003	1900
Ala., ears, bbls.	19800	10900	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Western, sacks.	32346	78905	.....	.....	.....	.....	5599	.....	.....	.....
Oats.....sacks.	48997	26896	62913	27173	29652	5972	1824	4677	2546	818
Hay.....bales.	14436	14606	24207	25024	28065	1896	2180	3493	3109	2220
Fodder.....bales.	555	809	.....	.....	.....	9	52	.....	.....	.....
Lard.....bbls.	1599	1647	.....	.....	.....	218	175	.....	.....	.....
Do.....kegs.	7128	5863	15704	24004	23733	370	552	858	916	606
Cheese.....boxes.	8738	3578	.....	.....	.....	30	143	.....	.....	.....
Butter.....kegs.	4955	3409	.....	.....	.....	346	194	.....	.....	.....
Candles.....boxes.	2631	4540	12815	.....	.....	.....	1365	1580	962	.....
Cement.....bbls.	5631	3694	.....	.....	.....	1165	1060	.....	.....	.....
Lime.....casks.	9668	7746	7508	28127	32109	1217	3155	1550	3145	2175
Slaves.....M.	.....	76600	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Molasses.....bbls.	19657	23843	41123	30647	18691	806	845	2155	1802	793
Potatoes.....bbls.	20458	9063	21185	25569	34072	43	828	89	137	224
Pork.....bbls.	17729	10185	13321	19416	18374	218	193	530	417	515
Rice.....tierces.	2158	1580	2473	1448	1766	146	72	224	35	32
Sugar.....hhd.	6667	7017	8691	8313	7193	833	310	605	1015	109
Salt.....sacks.	234893	148572	108972	140828	135069	22666	10450	28179	2487	3419
Whiskey.....bbls.	23647	17326	21730	20953	19013	1697	1916	2093	3456	3322
Wheat.....sacks.	9197	3281	.....	.....	.....	340	213	.....	.....	.....

ENTRIES AND CLEARANCES OF VESSELS.

Table of Entries and clearances of Vessels at the Port of Mobile, (exclusive of Steamers and other crafts navigating the Rivers and Bay,) for the year ending June 30, 1855.

DENOMINATION.	Entries.			Clearances.		
	Vessels.	Tons.	Crew.	Vessels.	Tons.	Crew.
American.....	180	79,879	2,153	182	122,403	3,164
Foreign.....	101	92,301	2,650	101	90,809	2,650
Coastwise.....	708	301,495	11,544	341	98,264	3,193
Total 1855-'6.....	989	473,675	16,347	624	311,471	9,007
American.....	65	27,634	847	151	160,750	1,268
Foreign.....	63	42,798	1,331	66	44,965	3,854
Coastwise.....	745	293,062	10,978	363	81,241	2,590
Total 1854-'5.....	873	363,594	13,156	579	286,956	6,713
American.....	43	23,450	737	105	60,004	1,619
Foreign.....	91	50,769	1,835	91	59,769	1,840
Coastwise.....	654	233,445	8,895	250	80,247	2,594
Total 1853-'4.....	791	421,664	11,467	446	200,120	6,053

THE COTTON CROP OF 1855-'56.

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION TO SEPTEMBER 1.

NEW ORLEANS.		BALES.	TOTAL.			BALES.	TOTAL.
Exports—				Burnt at Charleston 518,		751	
To Foreign ports	1,572,928			S. I., and 288 Uplands..			
Coastwise	222,100			Stock at Charleston, Sep-		3,144	
Burned, &c.	1,300			tember 1, 1856.			517,743
Stock September 1, 1856..	6,935						
		1,808,213		Exports—Fm Georgetown		2,898	520,836
Deduct—				to Northern ports.			
Rec'd from Mobile, Mont-				Deduct—Rec'd from Flori-		578	
gomery, &c.	73,573			da, Upland.		6,027	
Received from Florida....	5,186			Sea Island.			
Received from Texas....	20,601			Received from Savannah,		18,281	
Stock September 1, 1855..	89,425	141,785		Upland.		2,689	
				Sea Island.			
Total, 1856.		1,661,438		Stock at Charleston, Sep-		3,085	24,660
Total, 1855.		1,232,644		tember 1, 1855.			
ALABAMA.							405,978
Exports—				Total, 1856.			408,567
To For'n ports fm Mobile	485,085			Total, 1855.			
Coastwise, inc. 37,081 bales				NORTH CAROLINA.			
from Montgomery to N.				Exports—			
Orleans, direct.	196,622			To Foreign ports.		96	
Consumed at Mills.	1,336			Coastwise.		26,072	
Stock September 1, 1856..	5,606			Stock on hand Sept. 1, '56		150	26,318
		667,508		Deduct—			
Deduct—				Stock on hand Sept. 1, '55		200	200
Received from N. Orleans	5						
Stock September 1, 1855..	28,519	28,524		Total, 1856.			26,118
				Total, 1855.			27,806
Total, 1856.		659,074		VIRGINIA.			
Total, 1855.		454,595		Exports—			
TEXAS.				To Foreign ports.		70	
Exports—				Coastwise and manufac'd,			
To Foreign ports	84,002			(from the ports).		20,700	
Coastwise.	88,515			Stock on hand Sept. 1, '56		842	31,612
Stock September 1, 1856..	628	118,140		Deduct—			
Deduct—				Received from Mobile, di-		652	
Stock September 1, 1855..	2,002	2,002		rect.		502	1,154
				Stock on hand Sept. 1, '55			
Total, 1856.		116,078					
Total, 1855.		80,737		Total, 1856.			20,458
FLORIDA.				Received at New York, Philadel-			18,804
Exports—				phia and Baltimore, overland...			
To Foreign ports, Uplands	35,358			Total crop of the United States...		3,524,242	
Coastwise, Uplands.	95,150			Total crop of the U. States, 1855...		2,847,616	
Sea Islands.	10,900						
Stock September 1, 1856..	74	141,992		Increase on last year. Bales		676,626	
Deduct—				Increase on year before.		595,104	
Stock September 1, 1855..	166	166		CONSUMPTION.			
				Total crop of the U. States		Bales.	
Total, 1856.		141,816		as above.		3,524,242	
Total, 1855.		136,507		Add—Stock on hand at the			
GEORGIA.				commencement of the			
Exports—Fm Savannah				year, Sept. 1, 1855—			
To Foreign ports, Upl'ds	177,182			In Southern ports..		76,814	
Sea Islands..	8,138			In Northern ports..		66,378	
Coastwise, Uplands.	200,426					143,192	
Sea Islands..	7,346			Makes a supply of.		3,667,434	
Stock at Savannah, Sep-				Deduct therefrom—			
tember 1, 1856.	1,550			The exports to For. ports		2,964,606	
Stock at Augusta, Septem-				Less Foreign included.		3,224	
ber 1, 1856.	1,781	396,423		Stock on hand Sept. 1, '56,			
Deduct—Receipts from				In Southern ports..		18,383	
Florida, Upland.	386			In Northern ports..		44,157	
Sea Island.	2,755					3,013,922	
Stock at Savannah & Au-				Taken for home use—Bales.		658,512	
gusta, September 1, 1855	3,827	6,968		Quantity consumed by and in the hands of			
				Manufacturers North of Virginia—			
Total, 1856.		389,455		1855-'6. Bales.		653,512	
Total, 1855.		375,353		1854-'5.		598,292	
SOUTH CAROLINA.							
Exports—Fm Charleston							
To Foreign ports, Uplands	369,246						
Sea Islands..	18,765						
Coastwise—Upland.	189,451						
Sea Islands..	9,236						

RAILROADS IN VIRGINIA.

We are under obligations to the Virginia Board of Public Works for a copy of their twenty-ninth Annual Report to the General Assembly, from which we condense the following, with regard to the business of such railroad companies as have not forwarded us copies of their last reports. We commence with the

Roanoke Valley Railroad.

Since last report, the entire superstructure of the road has been completed, and the road operated since March, 1855. Owing to the want of funds to furnish equipment, the company were obliged to enter into an arrangement with the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad Company, for operating the road, for which the latter are to receive fifty per cent. of the receipts. Contract can be annulled in six months, and notice to that effect has been already given by the Raleigh and Gaston Company. Though a small sum is owing to the contractors, the road is not encumbered with any deed or mortgage whatever. It is believed \$60,000 would discharge all obligations, and provide the rolling stock necessary.

Capital stock, \$430,000, to which \$30,000 have been subscribed by individuals, \$20,000 by Corporation of Clarksville, \$70,000 by city of Norfolk, and \$310,000 by Board of Public Works. Of the subscription all but \$5,944 has been received. Cost of road, buildings, &c., at 30th September last, \$444,132. Business of the year not given.

Jas. Williamson, President, and E. A. Williams, Sec'y and Treasurer. The Company's office is in Clarksville, Virginia.

Fredericksburg and Gordonsville Railroad.

Authorized capital, \$460,000, subscribed by individuals and the Corporation of Fredericksburg, \$96,700, and by Board of Public Works, \$138,000. Company's debts, \$8,390.19. Expended to 30th September last, \$158,440.

Walker P. Conway is President; John S. Caldwell, Secretary and Treasurer; and Wm. Sniedan, Chief Engineer. Office at Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Winchester and Potomac Railroad.

Capital stock, \$300,000, of which was subscribed by State, \$120,000; debts, funded and unfunded, \$138,118, besides a loan of \$150,000 from the Commonwealth. This loan, together with the above stock subscription has been commuted for an annuity of \$5,000 per annum to the State. The revenue from all sources to date has been \$1,544,628. Among the items of outlay we have the following:

Original cost of construction.....	\$441,309
Original cost of depots, shops, &c.....	18,248
Land damages.....	43,081
Motive power.....	47,000
Cars, and repairs to do.....	349,937
Repairs and reconstruction of road.....	431,287
Interest.....	195,833
Dividends.....	92,440

The business for the last fiscal year was—

Passengers, freight and mail.....	\$78,112
Sale of old materials, rents, &c.....	7,684
Balance for previous year.....	757

Total.....	\$86,552
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From which were paid ordinary expenses, \$5,000 for State annuity, \$2,500 for bank debts, and \$10,313 for dividends, leaving as balance on hand, \$1,640.52.

Wm. L. Clarke is President, and J. G. Heist, principal Agent and Treasurer. Length of road, 32 miles. Company's office at Winchester, Virginia.

Manassa Gap Railroad.

The capital stock of this Corporation was increased, in January, 1854, by the addition of \$400,000, the State taking three-fifths. Last year operations were seriously retarded by the money pressure and drought. Operations have been confined to that section of the road between Strasburg and Woodstock, and the road nearly completed to the latter point. The business for last fiscal year was—

Passengers.....	\$24,165
Freight.....	76,031
Mails.....	2,479

Total.....	\$102,675
Working expenses.....	48,402

\$54,273

Less, charges paid Orange and Alexandria Railroad

Company for uses of road and station.....	23,685
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Net profits.....	\$30,568
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The last three months show a large per centage of increase over the year preceding. On the completion of the road to Woodstock, it is believed the net revenue will reach \$60,000 per annum. Between Strasburg and Harrisonburg, the road is under contract, and men are at work upon the whole line.

A purchase of 1,400 tons of iron has been made at favorable rates. Estimated cost of the extension, \$500,000. The means for construction are—

Company's bonds.....	\$150,000
Rockingham county bonds.....	100,000
Individual subscriptions.....	50,000
Drafts on Board of Public Works.....	75,000
Contractors' subscription.....	50,000
Drafts on Board of Public Works.....	75,000

Total..... \$500,000

Should there be due promptness in meeting subscriptions, the road to Harrisonburg will be ready for use in the spring of 1857.

The necessity of an independent line to Alexandria has long been felt. A subscription of \$80,000 for that purpose has already been authorized by that city. Estimated cost, exclusive of superstructure, \$400,000. Means now available, \$296,000, requiring only \$42,000 from individuals to furnish the requisite amount. The sum of \$65,000 has already been spent on construction. Estimated cost of superstructure, \$350,000, which can readily be provided for out of revenue. The branch to Purcellville, Loudoun county, is also under way. Estimated cost, \$450,000.

Cost of the whole work, as estimated by the Chief Engineer:

Road to Strasburg.....	\$1,450,000
“ Harrisonburg.....	1,150,000
“ Alexandria.....	750,000
“ Purcellville.....	450,000

\$3,800,000

Capital stock.....\$2,800,000

Loan..... 1,000,000—3,800,000

The value of work done for the past year was—

On the Valley line.....	\$185,034
“ Eastern extension.....	81,784
“ Loudoun branch.....	66,615

Total..... \$333,433

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

Individual subscriptions.....	\$386,050
Corporation of Alexandria.....	350,000
Counties and towns.....	200,000
Commonwealth.....	1,404,050
Earnings to date.....	182,000
Bills and accounts payable.....	285,433

\$2,807,659

Construction, equipment, &c., &c.....	\$1,980,206
Individual subscriptions unpaid.....	163,855
Commonwealth unpaid	265,050
Bills receivable.....	1,269
Transportation expenses, interest, discount, &c....	208,218
Means on hand.....	189,061
	<hr/>
	\$2,807,659

E. C. Marshall is President; Ed. Green, Secretary and Treasurer; and J. McD. Goldsborough, Chief Engineer. Office in Alexandria, Virginia.

Richmond and York River Railroad.

The object of this road is to open a communication from Richmond, the commercial capital of the State, to the waters of the Chesapeake bay, having a sufficient depth for large sea-going vessels. The route is direct, over a comparatively level country, favorable for construction. The total distance will be 38.3 miles. The total cost of the road with a moderate equipment is as follows:

Graduation and bridging.....	\$464,128
Right of way.....	110,000
Engineering and contingent expenses.....	34,000
Superstructure for 39 5-6th miles at \$8,000 per mile	318,400
Equipment.....	50,000
Depot and other buildings.....	50,000
Other expenses.....	30,000

Total estimated cost.....	\$1,056,528
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The amount of capital stock at present authorized is \$500,000. Of this sum, the State is to subscribe three-fifths, individuals two-fifths. The amount subscribed at the date of the report of the Board of Public Works was as follows:

Capital stock per charter.....	\$500,000
Capital stock subscribed by individuals.....	197,200
Capital stock subscribed by State.....	297,800

Total amount subscribed.....	\$495,000
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On which have been received—

From private subscriptions.....	\$45,648
From State.....	70,072
Miscellaneous receipts.....	1,514

Total receipts.....	\$117,234
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There had been expended on construction, at the date of the above report, \$87,861. Of this sum, \$23,032 had been paid

out for real estate; \$30,596 for land damages; and \$18,642 for graduation.

From the estimate cost of the road, it will be seen that insufficient means for construction have been provided. The Legislature, at its recent session, omitted to make any further provisions than those above stated. As this body will not probably meet again 'till 1857, we presume the process of construction will progress only slowly.

The President of the road is Alexander Dudley, of Richmond. Chief Engineer, F. S. Claxton. Secretary, A. W. Morton, who is also Treasurer.

THE VITAL STATISTICS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The late Mr. Gallatin, formerly Treasurer of the United States, reckons the entire importation of blacks into the territorial limits of the Republic at 300,000—now not less than four millions! M. Humboldt in the work above mentioned, adds up the importation of the blacks into the British West Indies from 1618 to 1786, which reaches, in 106 years, the enormous aggregate of 2,130,000. This aggregate includes neither the slaves imported openly up to 1824—a period of 38 years later—nor those imported at an earlier date, reaching back for the West Indies, to 1503—a period of 177 years anterior to M. Humboldt's point of departure—a period of more than a hundred years before the first white immigrants reached the shores of this Republic.

M. Humboldt says: "The whole Archipelago of the West Indies, which now comprises scarcely 2,400,000 negroes and mulattoes, free and slaves, received from 1670 to 1825, nearly 5,000,000 of Africans." VII, 272. Add to this all the importations, of which no exact records exist from 1503 to 1670—a period of 177 years—and then add the enormous importation since 1825, down to the present day, August 8, 1856, to which add the natural increase as proved by the statistical history of a handful of slaves imported at a comparatively late period into the slave-holding States of this Republic, not exceeding 300,000, yet soon multiplying to 4,000,000. These 300,000 ought to have been extinguished wholly ere now, according to the ratio of decline observed in other slave-holding lands—consider these things, ye weeping philanthropists of the North, and of realms beyond the ocean, and of the Islands of the distant seas—weep for the many millions imported during 350 years from Africa, whom the vital statistician can nowhere find but in the obvious grave, in mouldering bones. Why should the heart of the great world sob itself into convulsions

over the slave-holding States of this Republic, the oasis of the African desert, where alone the negro has a home, if not freedom, where he prospers most, has the greatest amount of the physical comforts, increases fastest, lives longest, and enjoys the best health, slaves nevertheless. The negroes of Africa now more than ever eat one another. They are everywhere crushed out beyond the limits of the slave-holding States.

A French naval officer, who with his suite was hospitably entertained by the Negro King of Dahomey, during the presidency of Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, relates that the King feeds his large army of female and male soldiers with the flesh of his captives, whom he can now no longer sell to the whites. The French officer, shocked at seeing human beings thus butchered, frequently plead with the King to abandon this practice, but was always answered by his Majesty and Cabinet with hearty laughter for his ineffable absurdity.

"The chief ornament of the royal residence, containing 15,000 inhabitants, is human skulls, of which, when a number was wanted to pave a court or decorate a ceiling, it was not an unusual process to have some scores of persons massacred for the purpose." (National Cylop. v, 210. London, 1848.) The female part of the army is nearly as large as the United States usually is in times of peace.

The Ashantee Kingdom bordering upon Dahomey is alike free in all barbarities. The Cyclopædia already quoted says: "The most remarkable among the habitual characteristics of the Ashantees are their warlike ferocity and their love of blood. These passions have, as usual, deeply colored their religious belief and observances. The most horrid of the practices by which they express their devotional feelings, are in which they indulge at what are called the Yam and the Adai customs, the former commencing in the early part of September, when the consumption of the Yam crop begins, the latter taking place, on a greater or lesser scale, alternately every three weeks. On all these occasions human blood flows in torrents."

If negro vital progression had been equally great beyond the limits of the slave-holding States, as within the latter, perhaps one hundred millions would have ere this spread over the West Indies and upon the American continent during the last three and a half centuries. The vital statistician weeps scientifically, that is to say, arithmetically, æsthetically, and, if inclined to benevolence, ethically too; he will not waste his sympathy over four millions of living negroes whose well-being exceeds that of any other portion of their race, even in their native land,

"Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sands"—

including New England hills, Canadian snows, and the eternal verdure of West Indian Islands which gem the Caribbean sea.

Mr. Allison, the Scotch historian, in his work on Population, in comparing the condition of the Irish with the blacks of the West Indies, says: "Unquestionably the condition of the Negroes in the West Indies, prior to their late emancipation, generally speaking, was infinitely preferable. It is perhaps the worst effect of that well-meant, but disastrous measure, that it will approximate the condition and habits of the negro race in those beautiful Islands to that of the Irish peasantry." II. p. 506-7. Indeed, this writer lays it down as an axiom, that "slavery results unavoidably from the dependent condition of the laboring classes."

The vital statistician, sanitarian, or physiologist, is warranted in scrutinizing any dogma, social or political institution, in so far as it may have a direct influence upon the vital progress, increase, health, sickness, and longevity of population. If, for example, a theological dogma, required the extinction of a race, he might as one of the Faithful adopt it, but as a statistician, he should examine it by the light of scientific investigation, and judge of its sanitary import, &c., as in the case of Musulmanic and Mormon polygamy, African slavery, and the like, although, in fact, there never was, there is not, nor will there ever be a fundamental antithesis between ethical and physical science. The unity and utility of truth are ever conjoined. Bentham, the most voluminous writer upon codification and modern reformation in law, regarded utility as the criterion of human virtue and conduct. He says: "A conscientious person is one who, having made to himself a rule of conduct, steadily abides by it. In the common use of the phrase, it is implied that his rule of conduct is the correct one. But only in so far as his rule is consistent with the principles of utility can his conscientiousness be deemed virtuous. A good conscience is the favorable opinion which a man entertains of his own conduct; an evil conscience is the unfavorable decision of a man on his own conduct. But the value of the judgment given must wholly depend on its being subservient to, or rather on its being an application of the greatest happiness, principle. That which produces happiness or misery is properly called virtuous or vicious. Virtue and vice are but useless qualities unless estimated by their influence on the creation of pleasure and pain. Effort, undoubtedly, is useful to virtue, and the seat of that effort, in the care of Providence, is principally in the understanding, in the case of effective benevolence, mainly in the will and the affections. Of all the actions of man, those which preserve the individual, and those which preserve the species, are undoubtedly the most benefi-

cial to the community." (Jeremy Bentham. Theory of social Science. I. 137, 141, 145, 146. London, 1834.)

Whether utility be, or be not the true ethical platform, it is not necessary to the purpose in making this quotation, to determine, but in sanitary and vital science, no other platform need be accepted, and on this the vital statistics of the negro race is placed, as neither the Constitution of the United States nor the "higher law" (or as Luther termed it, the *Pope* that every man carried in his abdomen) is material in this inquiry.

If the vital statistics of the negroes of the Southern States of this Republic, be compared with the vital progress of the aristocratic classes in England, it will be found that the comparison will be to the utmost degree unfavorable to the latter. The Westminster Review for April, 1847, says, that "in England, in a great majority of cases, the male heirs of the Peerages, and in all cases of the Baronetages, become extinct for want of male heirs, though many of each have female representatives."

M. Galignani, in his guide to Paris, (1844,) says, that nearly all the old Parisian families are extinct, particularly the male portion, and that in the great city of Paris not one thousand persons can reckon their ancestors as far back as Louis XIII.

The numerical history of the slave population of this Republic, compared to the ratio of increase in France, is immeasurably unfavorable to the latter. According to M. D'Angeville,* and other earlier and later authorities, the ratio of increase in France requires 139 years, and according to the very latest census, 142 years, for the duplication of the French population.

The slaves of the United States increase more than five times faster than the population of France.

In 1840, the slaves numbered 1,333 centenarians, and in 1850, the number was 1,425, while all France had in 1837, but 120 of this age, an unusual proportion of whom were concentrated in the valley of the Garonne. The French population had then, according to the census, but one centenarian to 240,000 inhabitants. According to the last census of the United States, there was one centenarian in every 2,448 slaves, a ratio 98 times greater than in the French Empire.

The physiological deterioration of the free blacks, particularly in the non-slaveholding States of this Republic, as set forth and uniformly confirmed by every official census, is unparalleled in the ethnological history of mankind. This extraordinary degeneration does not apply to the low ratio of increase, but to the high numerical proportion of the insane, the idiots, the deaf, dumb, blind, and so forth. The Indian

* Statistiques de la population Francaise, Paris, 1837.

race in North America, estimated by Mr. Catlin at 16,000,000 at the time the Caucasian family settled in the country, has dwindled down to a few hundred thousands, without having suffered from similar deteriorations.

This deterioration was called in question by several citizens of Boston. It will be seen by the Compendium of the United States Census for 1850, compiled from official documents by Prof. De Bow, Superintendent of the Census Bureau, and published by the authority of Congress in 1854, that after a thorough scrutiny by the Government, the authenticity of the census, so unfavorable to the physical and sanitary condition of the free blacks of the North, is fully established, as the following extracts from the work mentioned (pp. 75-6-7) will show.

"DEAF, DUMB, AND BLIND.—Objection was taken to the statistics of the deaf and dumb, blind, &c., for 1830 and '40, so far as they relate to the non-slaveholding States, and a memorial was sent to Congress from several persons in Boston, protesting against their publication. The memorial was referred to the Department of State, and that Department entrusted its examination to a gentleman who had been charged with the preparation of the census of 1840 for the press. The Secretary in transmitting his report, now in manuscript in the office, and dated February 12, 1845, says:

"On a review of the whole, two conclusions, it is believed, will be found to follow inevitably. The one is that the correctness of the late census in exhibiting a far greater prevalence of the diseases of insanity, blindness, deafness, and dumbness, stands unimpeachable. That it may contain errors, more or less, is hardly to be doubted. It would be a miracle if such a document, with so many figures and entries, did not. But that they have, if they exist, materially affected the correctness of the general result, would seem hardly possible. Nothing but that the truth is so, would seem capable of explaining the fact that, in all the non-slaveholding States, without exception, the census exhibits, uniformly, a far greater comparative prevalence of these diseases among the free blacks than among the slaves of the other States. They are indeed vastly more so among the most favorable of the former than in the least favorable of the latter."

"A strong circumstance supporting the census of 1840, grew out of its near correspondence with that of 1830, in the ratio of the affected to the whole colored population. It becomes necessary to suppose that different sets of persons, residents of the localities, without concert after a lapse of ten years, and with all the checks imposed by the census law, and the publicity required in the exposure of the returns before sending

them to Washington, have fallen into the same errors designedly, which no one can for a moment suppose, or accidentally.

"Admitting, however, the census of 1850 to be entirely correct, and the others incorrect, the proportion of the whole colored persons, deaf, dumb, and blind, in the non-slaveholding States, is one in every 919, and in the slaveholding States, one in every 1,517. For the insane and idiotic the proportion in the non-slaveholding States is one in 709; in the slaveholding States one in 1,821. But if errors are admitted in all of the censuses, and that they would probably balance each other, a mean of the three shows for the deaf, and dumb, and blind, insane, and idiotic, one in every 505 colored in the non-slaveholding States, and one in every 1,446 in the slaveholding States."

The slaveholding States of this Republic, with a stock of 300,000—such Pagans as those in Dahomey, Ashantee, etc., have presented to the statistician about four millions of souls deeply imbued with the fundamental principles of christianity, that great civilizer. The numerical proportion of christianized slaves is probably greater than that of any other class in the Union. Pile up the pyramid of negro skulls statistically wasted in Africa, in the West Indies, and everywhere beyond the limits of the slaveholding States, and lo! the Bunker Hill Monument and the Egyptian Cheops will be lost in its overshadowing shade. Mount upon this *golgothan* pyramid, and from its apex survey the vast *Aceldama* around its base, which expands illimitably, save a single oasis that rises to view!

As before stated, statisticians at least, should economize their sympathy, so as not to waste it wholly upon one portion of the American Republic, the vital statistics of which ought to be accepted as satisfactory. He might even distrust speculations which are contradicted by vital arithmetic.

WARSAW AND ROCKFORD RAILROAD.

At a meeting of the Directors of the Warsaw and Rockford Railroad, at Oquawka, on the 18th inst., S. S. Phelps was elected President, and Jno. E. Johnson, Vice President. The best feeling pervaded; the work on the first division is progressing finely. The contractors on the second division from Appanoose to the junction of the Burlington road are increasing their forces. Dr. Bacon, the agent, informs us that 15 per cent. of the private stock will be called for on the 1st of July. It is necessary for stockholders to be prompt in their payments, that the work may go on. Negotiations will soon open for iron, rolling stock, ect.—*Ft. Madison Plaindealer.*

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN STATES AND EUROPE.

LETTER OF A. DUDLEY MANN, TO THE CITIZENS OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES, IN RELATION TO A WEEKLY FERRY LINE OF IRON STEAMSHIPS OF THIRTY THOUSAND TONS, BETWEEN THE CHESAPEAKE BAY AND MILFORD HAVEN.

With the co-operation of the slaveholding States, if it can be secured, I propose to establish, in conjunction with certain associates to be hereafter designated, a *Weekly Iron Steamship Ferry Line* between the Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven. The distance by the Southern route from the one to the other of those waters is about 3,150 miles—shorter by at least 100 miles than that at present traversed by the American steamers from New York to Liverpool. The route is entirely free from the dangers incident to coastwise navigation and icebergs.

The town of Milford is situated one hundred and twenty miles southward and westward of Liverpool, one hundred miles westward of Bristol, and two hundred and seventy miles westward of London. It is connected with each by railway, with the exception of a space of three miles, which will be completed next spring. To London the line—broad gauge throughout—will be run over by express trains inside of seven hours. To Waterford the distance is seventy miles by water, at which port there is a connexion by railway with Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, Dublin, and Belfast. To Havre the distance is about two hundred and twenty-five miles.

It is estimated that all the navies of Europe could “ride in safety and swing at their anchors” in Milford Haven. This Haven enjoys in an eminent degree the essential requisites for rendering the town of Milford the first port of Europe. It has length and breadth of compass, deep water and good bottom, facility of ingress and egress, and secure shelter. But notwithstanding this unsurpassed combination of advantages, it has been comparatively valueless heretofore, to the commercial world on account of being shut out from internal communication with the metropolis and the manufacturing districts of the British realm.

Like Milford Haven, the worth of the Chesapeake Bay has never been properly appreciated except for national purposes. Commercially, no peculiar benefits have been derived from its excellent qualities as a haven, and its easy approach from the ocean. But, happily for several years, railways proceeding from the confines of the south, southwest, west, and northwest, connecting one with another, and encircling and embracing all the cities and principal towns, have been steadily and resolutely forcing their passages over and through the impediments which obstructed their progress, and are now in so advanced

a state as to give a reasonable assurance that in a year or two they will converge completed upon its Virginia shore. By such communication, assisted by canals and rivers, will be conveyed for transportation to foreign countries, as soon as the proposed Atlantic Steam Ferry Line is established, a part of the cotton of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas; the tobacco, wheat, and corn of Virginia, Tennessee, Maryland, and Delaware; the pork, bacon, lard, and tobacco of Kentucky and Missouri; the rice of South Carolina; and the rosin and turpentine of North Carolina. Nor is it improbable that Pennsylvania, to say nothing of other non-slaveholding States, will avail herself of it for conducting a lucrative traffic at home and abroad. The waters of her great central artery meet and commingle with those of the south in the Chesapeake Bay, and her varied interests, strengthened by her inflexible devotion to the Constitution, unite her in bonds of indissolubility with her southern sisters.

A glance at a railway map of the slaveholding States will satisfy any one capable of comprehending the subject, that the iron road system in that portion of the Union, including the lines projected, will be, when finished, as perfect as any system of the kind in operation in any country. Such resources cannot fail to be unfolded—so varied, rich, and extended as have never been submitted to human vision. It is estimated by competent judges that there is a sufficiency of iron and coal in Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, to supply the wants of the Union for a hundred centuries; while copper, lead, gypsum, and salt exists in one or more of those States in immense quantities.

That commerce will avail of the avenues created for its facilitation, is much more rational than that it will continue to travel circuitous routes, however long established. Capital seeks trade. Where trade is developed, or promises to be developed, there will capital go in search of it; and nothing since the earth has been inhabited has done so much to engender trade, where there was none before, as the railway and locomotive.

A most forcible exemplification of this fact is to be found in the instance of Cardiff, in South Wales. This port in 1840 was of utter insignificance, the amount of shipping which entered it never exceeding in any one year 150,000 tons. In 1841, an iron-way was opened from it to Merthyr Tydvil, by which valleys and mountains teeming with mineral wealth have been unlocked, and which are now supplying most of the bars for our roads (a single establishment turning out fifteen hundred tons per week,) as well as coal for exportation to every

part of the globe. The result is, that Cardiff now clears annually more than 1,000,000 tons of shipping, and wears the business aspect of a prosperous sea-board city. This distinctly foreshadows what the Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven are to become, as soon as the artificial links are perfected which will bring the one and the other in close connexion with the country behind, and when they are made the terminal points of an Atlantic Steam Ferry Line.

The indications are too distinct to be misconceived, that a new era in ocean navigation is rapidly approaching. The proofs have become convincing, to investigating minds, that iron and steam are to supersede wood and canvas, in the movement of the products and passengers between the two hemispheres. The greater size, strength, and security in every respect—to say nothing of durability of wear, which may be imparted to iron steamships, combine to render such a result positively certain. Before the end of this century there will not, probably, be a wooden hull navigating the Atlantic under canvas.

The employment of steam as a motive power has already accomplished more than Oliver Evans, or Solomon Cos, or Francis Fortune, the so-considered *wild enthusiasts* of their times, in relation to its propelling properties, likely ever imagined in their most enlarged anticipations of its success. But, notwithstanding all that has been so wonderfully consummated through its agency, it is not presumable that anything like perfection has been attained in the salutary influence it is to exercise on the destinies of mankind. Science never slumbers. Its energy is untiring. Properly impressed with the importance of its benign mission, it is ceaseless in its solicitude to discover unexplored fields. It seems to be an agent of the Almighty for bettering the condition of his creatures, and He doubtless will inspire and sustain it, despite the obstacle which a "let-us-alone" selfishness may contrive for the defeat of its purposes. "To talk about lighting London with gas," exclaimed one of the renowned philosophers of the last century, "is as idle to talk about clipping a slice from the moon and using it for that purpose!" Now what do we behold? Not a third-rate city of either hemisphere, of respectability, that is not nearly as bright at night by gas illumination as by the rays of the sun. "To talk about conveying the mails across the Atlantic by steamships," remarked another *savant*, when the *Great Western* was projected; "is too much of an absurdity to be entertained by a sound mind!" Now the mails arrive almost as regularly in America, Great Britain, and continental Europe, in steamships, as they did at the beginning of this century in London, from Edinburgh by stage-coaches, five and

twenty years ago in Washington from St. Louis. And Science, faithful to its trust, has made such discoveries from time to time as to diminish the length of the passage between Liverpool and New York, when computed by days, one-half, as compared with the first voyages.

In the vicinity of this metropolis, opposite Greenwich, an iron steamship is in the course of construction, which will eventuate in effecting as complete an amelioration on the ocean as the locomotive has effected on land. I have been not only an attentive, but an inordinately anxious observer, for twelve months, of her progress towards completion. She is, on account of her tremendous proportions, the marvel of navigators and mariners; and predictions are more abundant, in all circles, that she is to result in an entire failure, than they were with respect to the *Great Western*. But the projector, Mr. Brunel, the same favored child of science who projected the *Great Western*, is quite as confident that he will attain his noble aims in the present instance, as he was that the performances of his former endeared bantling would confound and overwhelm even philosophers and *savants*. In this confidence I fully share, and upon the strength of it I predicate my enterprise, perceiving in that enterprise if carried out, the redemption of the slaveholding States from the tribute which an unnatural commerce remorselessly exacts from them. As it is in contemplation to construct four vessels similar to the mammoth one referred to, for the Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, it may not be out of place here to give a short description of her.

The *Great Eastern* (for, although she is not formally named, it is understood that the "big ship" is to be so called) will have employed in her construction, when completed—including engines, anchors, and cables, no less than twelve thousand tons of iron. Her deck over all is six hundred and ninety-two feet long; its breadth eighty-five feet, and across the paddle-boxes one hundred and fourteen. Her depth is fifty-eight feet. Her measurement is twenty-seven thousand five hundred tons. She will carry eight hundred first-class passengers, two thousand second-class, and twelve hundred third-class, besides her officers and crew, amounting to four hundred. She will also carry seventeen thousand five hundred tons cargo, and so freighted, it is believed that she may be propelled across the Atlantic at the rate of from seventeen to twenty miles an hour. Thus, even the *minimum* rate of speed would take her from the Chesapeake bay to Milford Haven in less than eight days; and the *maximum* rate in less than six and a half.

The *Great Eastern* is so built that, by a singular combination of ribs and webs, she is nearly as strong as though she were a solid block of forged iron. She is double-planked

throughout—the inner skin three quarters of an inch thick, and the outer one an inch. The planks, of iron, employ no less than three millions of rivets, of an inch diameter, to confine them to their places. She is divided into ten large perfectly water-tight compartments of sixty feet in length, either of which would float her in case of serious accident to the others.

What would such a structure have to apprehend from the dangers of the sea between the Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven? Of coast there would be none whatever to encounter. Running south of 42°, with icebergs she could scarcely come in contact; and if she chanced to strike one, the blow she would receive, however severe, could not send her down. With thirty feet of her height always above the ocean level, waves could not harm her. To break her in two would be almost as difficult as to break in two the back-bone of the Alleghany. Old Neptune would behold in her the triumph of science over his hitherto world-wide recognized majesty in his own briny domain. In this connection it may be remarked that the length of the longest waves is computed at six hundred feet, their extreme altitude twenty-eight feet, and their average only seventeen.

When the *Great Western* started on her first voyage, fears were entertained that, if she encountered no other obstacle, she would almost certainly be severed, on account of her extraordinary length, upon the first formidable wave which she attempted to cross. She was two hundred and thirty-six feet long! In July, 1845, being about to return to the United States from the Continent, I wrote to a friend in London to procure me a birth in the *Great Britain*, which was soon to proceed on her first trip to New York. By return post he urged me to abandon the notion of embarking in her, as an opinion generally prevailed that "she was too long to ever get across the Atlantic!" She was three hundred and twenty-two feet long! Doubts and prejudices have been gradually disappearing in the presence of successful performance, until such is the confidence felt in the safety of long ships, that the *Persia*, of three hundred and ninety feet length, would monopolize the passengers of the Cunard Line if she were capacious enough to accommodate them.

The *Great Eastern* will have the capacity to carry, with four thousand persons, twenty-five thousand bales of cotton, or fifty thousand barrels of flour, or ten thousand hogsheads of tobacco. The power of her engines combined is three thousand horse, British estimate. She will have at her command paddle-wheel, stern-wheel, and sails; so that if one propelling agent should chance to be disabled, she would have two others upon which

to rely to move her to her destination. Her architect expects to succeed in making her thoroughly fireproof. Hence, comparatively, she will be submitted to no sea risks. Life and property aboard of her will be almost as secure as in a strongly-built dwelling. A passage from the Chesapeake Bay to Milford Haven will be but little more perilous in such a vessel than a passage across the Ferry from New York to Hoboken. Nor would persons subject to sea-sickness voyaging in her probably be submitted to that aggravating malady, except in its mildest form. It is calculated that she will neither pitch nor roll, as she will be enabled to take such immense strides as to cross with ease three of the three hundred feet waves at a single leap, and to glide over those of six hundred feet almost imperceptibly as respects vibration.

There is no principle more sound than that in political economy, which says to industrial pursuits, "Sell your products where you can sell them at the highest price, and buy your supplies where you can buy them at the lowest." To render this practicable in the slaveholding States, the proposed Atlantic Steam Ferry Line is indispensable. Through the instrumentality of this line direct trade and personal intercourse with Western Europe, from those States, will speedily become as enlarged as that which they at present carry on with the Northern States of the Union. Instead of intermediate agencies, operating adversely to their interests, prospering upon their toils, their commerce will assume a natural, healthful, and expeditious character. Grievous commission and insurance charges, occasioned by indirect exportation, will in a great measure be abolished, and interest accounts vastly diminished by rapidity of transportation. On importations the northern merchant will be deprived of his enormous profits, and the southern consumer relieved from a taxation which contributes weightily to his pecuniary oppression.

I have seen it somewhere estimated that, on an estimate in Cuba, which produces \$30,000 worth of sugar annually, the various taxes exacted by the Government of Spain amount to one third of the receipts from the yield. Even under the existing liberal tariff of the United States—liberal only as contrasted with that which its enactment repealed, and the method in which trade is conducted between the slaveholding States and the European consumers of their staples, it is questionable whether, if a nice calculation were made, the Southerners would not find themselves almost as severely taxed as the Cubans.

The question has probably been millions of times asked, or turned over in reflecting minds, Why, with respect to one and the other, was Providence so prodigal of its favors to the Chesa-

peake Bay and Milford Haven? The answer seems at last to be satisfactorily furnished. As if by some mysterious arrangement of pre-concerted scientific thought, the locomotive is about to visit each, taking with it the valuable products of the populous and rich interior, simultaneously with the discovery of a quick and cheap plan of ocean conveyance for those products to their consumers; *for it must be distinctly observed that in no other water in Europe or America can a vessel of the magnitude of the Great Eastern, and of her immense capacity for carrying, enter and depart where there is a reasonable assurance that freights can be procured in sufficient abundance to fill her, but that of the Chesapeake Bay or Milford Haven.* It is almost needless to remark that with all that steam has so beneficially accomplished on the ocean, it has done but little in transporting any of the chief heavy articles of Southern or British export.

What point on the Chesapeake bay will be selected for the Atlantic Steam Ferry Line landing, cannot yet be determined. It will, however, assuredly be that which in all respects is the most suitable; and there, without necessarily building up a populous city, a store-house of such importance will establish itself as never was created before, from which the slaveholding States, if not also a number of the non-slaveholding ones, will draw their supplies at moderate prices. In like manner Milford Haven will become the storehouse of American products, which products will be conveyed at low rates, and expeditiously, to every part of Europe. As if in anticipation of this, an Anglo-French Company is in the course of successful formation for constructing a large number of steamers to engage in the European coasting trade.

No principle in steamship architecture is better established than that length and size are essential to the attainment of speed. Therefore, such vessels as the *Great Eastern*, engaged in the contemplated service, will command most of the travel between Europe and North America, as well as the mail carrying; and with the greater certainty, because of their security from casualties.

The more opulent families of the slaveholding States, or rather many of them, usually leave their homes during the summer and early autumnal months. A few, compared to the vast number, repair to the delightful springs of Virginia, and to other southern retreats; but they go in the main to the watering places and more populous cities of the North. Such, instead of loitering on shore, confining themselves in close rooms during the hot hours of the day, where they languish for want of pure air, or fatigue with the tedious *ennui*, would repair to the Atlantic Ferry, and crossing it, as if on the wings

of the wind, in a well-appointed hotel, enjoy the invigorating effects of a sea-passage. Touching Europe at one of its most interesting points, they would travel up to London by trains which have no equals, and on a route which is not surpassed for adjacent wild scenery and gay rural beauties. Nor would the wealthy and mere pleasure-seeker alone have an incentive to proceed on the voyage. The man of smaller means—the frugal agriculturist—would want to see, when he was brought within eight days distance of him, what sort of person consumed his surplus produce, and made the articles which he required for consumption. He would take his wheat, cotton, and tobacco to market, and buy his supplies as the industrious husbandman of Accomack takes his vegetables across to Norfolk, and returns with his coffee, tea, and sugar.

The Atlantic Ferry steamships, when filled with outward passengers, would personify a southern town of four thousand inhabitants, each family occupying the dwelling best suited to its condition in life. While the decks, an eighth of a mile in length, would emphatically be a village "commons," the compartments would be as distinct from each other as different houses of abode.

The *Great Eastern* is intended for the Australian trade. It is expected that she will make the passage from Milford Haven to Port Philip, by the Cape of Good Hope, in thirty-five days. The distance is 11,828 miles, shorter by about 1000 miles than any route yet traversed. The most direct line would be overland, and *via* Diego Garcia—a low flat island among the coral reefs of the Chagos Archipelago; but the navigation in that region is extremely perilous, the channels so narrow and difficult of entrance as not to be attempted except in broad daylight. This precludes the adoption of it as the highway from here to the British possessions in the East. The chances are, that even the *Great Eastern* will be unable to steam from Milford Haven to Melbourne in thirty-five days. The distance is so long, that on a consecutive run she must probably tire before she reaches her terminal point.

It may not be out of place here to remark that the British Government has just closed a contract with a Steam Company to carry the mails from Southampton to Melbourne, *via* the Isthmus of Suez, in fifty days.

The distance, as has been stated, between Milford Haven and the Chesapeake Bay, is 3,150 miles. The passage across it would be as frequently under seven days as over seven, by the Ferry Line. From the Chesapeake to the Pacific the travel, as soon as the connecting railways shall have been completed, will be easily performed in five days; and from thence to Melbourne in sixteen days. Thus there would be a

diminution of six days upon the contemplated time of the *Great Eastern*. Travellers engaged in commercial or industrial pursuits would, consequently, choose the American route for its expedition, as would also the mere pleasure-seeker, for the interesting and diversified scenes which it would present to his view. And still greater than to Australia would be the diminution in time from Europe, by the American Line, to Southern China, Japan, &c. The Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea would be measurably abandoned, and San Francisco would become the great central rendezvous for Europeans and others voyaging to and from the East. It would be brought within eighteen days of London, and within twelve of the Chesapeake Bay, which time would be again shortened five days, if ever the Pacific railroad should be made.

By means of such an undertaking as that of the Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, no stretch of the imagination is required to foretell that the Chesapeake Bay would be the mart of the largest travel and transportation of industrial products ever known. From thence they would radiate in every direction, to the benefit of all who came within the sphere of their movement. The gold of California and Australia, the silver of Mexico, the mails from every civilized part of the globe, would also concentrate there for distribution and expedition to their respective destinations. Neither ice nor snow would ever suspend communications for a day, on the direct line.

It is obviously the policy of the slaveholding States to leave no efforts untried to make their railroads and canals produce the largest possible income. Each has expended its millions of dollars, or is expending them, in internal improvements, and never was money better appropriated, if these improvements shall find profitable employment. They will, if judiciously encouraged, be a source of perpetually growing revenue. Traffic is all in all to them, and should be secured at any reasonable cost.

The history of the railroads of Great Britain abounds with interest. Those roads have achieved results which would have been regarded as marvellous in other ages. The first line, that between Stockton and Darlington, was opened to public use in the year 1825. It was not, however, until the year 1830, that the majestic locomotive commenced treading the earth like a mighty "thing of life." Now there are 8,300 miles completed in this realm, (of which fifty are tunnel,) constructed at a cost of \$1,500,000,000, and employing 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 carriages, and 90,000 officers and servants. The engines consume annually 2,000,000 tons of coal, and convey during that period 120,000,000 passengers, each averaging twelve miles. The accidents are in the proportion of one to every 7,195,343

travellers. The entire receipts from traffic, per annum, are something like \$120,000,000. According to reliable estimates, if railroad communications were suspended, the same amount of traffic could not be carried on at a less expense than \$300,000,000 annually. It is worthy of remark that, such is the peculiarity of legislation at London, the Acts of Parliament which authorized the construction of the different existing lines were obtained at the enormous cost of \$70,000,000. In addition to this amount, \$150,000,000 were allowed to proprietors for the right of way and the buildings thereon. The aggregate value of the landed property in the United Kingdom is believed to have more than doubled since the locomotive commenced its operations.

Like results, if not vastly more favorable ones, will, under the same influences, display themselves in the slaveholding States, and perhaps in a quarter of the time. The railroads in those States, including such as are under contract, measure full as much as the railroads of Great Britain. There is no agent that can be employed in facilitating or augmenting intercourse between the citizens of a State that is not moralizing in its character. The love of home is one of the most ennobling attachments, and that love mostly proceeds from the enjoyment which home affords to its possessor. Science has invented the means of carrying with almost Ariel-like velocity, to every husbandman's threshold, not only the supplies demanded by him for necessary use, but also those of elegant luxury, from every clime—carrying off to market in return his surplus products. What formerly were considered secluded country abodes are becoming as highly favored as though they were sea-board cities. The tiller of the earth more than ever is justly proud of his avocation, and by his example excites industry and an upward-aiming spirit in those with whom he has intercourse in indigent circumstances: consequently the value of land is steadily equalizing itself, and the danger to a redundant unemployed city population in the South diminishing. Rural employment is the natural one to the citizens of the slaveholding States, and the facilities multiply day by day for rendering it more and more desirable.

Four such vessels as the *Great Eastern*, departing weekly from the Chesapeake Bay, would convey to Milford Haven in a year, 1,250,000 bales of cotton, or more than their equivalent in weight in a less bulky article. An opinion cannot be formed at this time with any degree of accuracy, as to what length of distance ponderous articles would bear transportation on railroad to the Chesapeake Bay, *with the certainty of conveyance across the Atlantic in seven or eight days, at unprecedented low rates.* It was estimated that, on account of the suspension

of navigation by unusual low water in the rivers of the slaveholding States during the latter part of 1854 and the early part 1855, the producers of cotton and other staples of exportation experienced a clear loss of at least \$20,000,000. Cotton might possibly travel to the Chesapeake Bay, to avail of the advantages there offered for its speedy transit to Europe, from as remote a region as the interior of Texas. So with other articles. Should this transpire, there are doubtless those who have advanced to the meridian of life who will not have passed away from earth without seeing a daily, instead of the proposed weekly, Ocean Ferry Line in successful operation.

There is not a year perhaps elapses, even the most favourable one, that \$10,000,000 are not lost to the slaveholding States from unavoidable detentions in the shipments of their surplus products; nor is the mere delay in the receipt of their value the heaviest of the losses consequent thereon. Those products arrive at their respective markets in such quantities at the same time, as to occasion what is termed a "glut," and its ever-attendant depression and depreciation in prices. This would be obviated by the regularity with which supplies would be moved by the Steam Ferry Line.

While at least three-fourths of the value of the products shipped from the Union to foreign markets are of slaveholding States' origin, scarcely a fiftieth part of this amount, if I am not misled by statements before me, is carried in bottoms owned by citizens of those States. The non-slaveholding States of the North, chiefly the more rabid national demoralizers of them, not only monopolize to a great extent the coastwise carrying of the slaveholding States, but they are protected against the participation of foreign ships in that carrying. It is not enough for the North that foreign vessels may not carry between New Orleans and Baltimore, but Massachusetts, Maine, &c., are so exacting as to require, that no foreign vessel shall be allowed to be *purchased* and *naturalized* so as to carry from a Southern port to a foreign one. Under such laws were it desirable to buy the *Great Eastern* for the proposed Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, a special Act of Congress would have to be passed before she could receive an American register. This species of *protection* has profited immensely the ship-building and navigation interest of New York and New England. Heretofore it has been tacitly submitted to by the slaveholding States, but, as is now evident, in *too broad a spirit* of national generosity, since for the "bread" given a "stone" is returned. By this spirit, proud of our growing navigation, I have been actuated until recently myself. But if Northern navigation and Northern shipbuilding are to affiliate with Northern free-soilism and Northern abolitionism in their unwarrantable cru-

sade against the Constitution and the slaveholding States, they become so anti-national, that I can feel no deeper interest in the one or the other than I entertain for the navigation and ship-building of any foreign Power or State.

It is not presumable that the slaveholding States would ever have become considerable carriers in canvass navigation. The more lucrative employment of their laboring inhabitants occasions a scarcity of sailors. But the substitution of steam for wind as a propelling agent, measurably dispenses with mariners, and will enable them consequently to build up a mercantile marine adequate to their wants, as those wants may manifest themselves. There is no valid reason why, when the citizens of the South go resolutely to work, under the new order of things, for bettering their condition, that they should not at least do their *own* carrying.

The terminal waters of the Atlantic Steam Ferry interprise were selected solely with an eye to their peculiar suitableness in every respect. It is confidently expected that this enterprise will not conflict with the prosperity of a city, town, or hamlet in the slaveholding States; but, on the contrary, advance the interests of all. And it ought to be regarded as a Union-preserving, instead of a Union-dividing one. It contemplates nothing more traitorous than a commercial fortification of the South against the political encroachments of the North. When the slaveholding States rise in their commercial majesty, and manifest unmistakeably that they can act as well as talk—that they can execute as well as resolve—that they know how to appreciate natural commercial allies abroad, and are prepared to dispense with intermediate agencies at home, which “eat out their substance,” then will venomous freesoilism be subdued, and abolition fanaticism itself brought to a sense of right. Thus honorable union to the South may be secured.

In a military point of view, four such steamships as the *Great Eastern* would be of inestimable advantage to the United States, if they should ever be needed for active service. The last speck of war, as concerns our own country, is about to disappear from the political horizon. As far as the eye can penetrate the future from this metropolis, there is everything to encourage the hope that we have nothing whatever to apprehend from an external enemy. If I read aright British sentiment upon the subject, which I have diligently studied for nearly a twelvemonth, it is at the present time as decided as it is united for the establishment of harmonious and indeed cordial relations with us. It will never permit the Government to declare hostilities against the Union, except in *unavoidable defence of the national honor*. To such an alterna-

tive we cannot, without downright meanness, ever attempt to force it. Justice and wisdom alike demand that neither States nor individuals should make exactions which have no foundation in right. Nor have we anything to apprehend from any other power. None dares to undertake to make us afraid, and none will have the temerity to assail us as long as we act from honest conviction in support of our interests. But still it is the part of prudence for great nations, in order to perpetuate honorable peace, not to be wholly unprepared for war. We shall perhaps never lay the keel of another man-of-war for canvas navigation. The money appropriated for such purpose would be almost as good as thrown away. Steam, or some motive power not yet discovered, will be employed henceforth for propelling vessels in commission for belligerent purposes. Will our Government, or our citizens who control its action, at any time be disposed to build a large steam war marine, merely as such? Assuredly not. They have too much common sense to regard even the notion of it otherwise than preposterous. The expense of building, equipping, and maintaining even a moderately-sized one, would require a larger sum than is required at present for the support of the General Government. Great Britain is groaning, and will groan on for ages, in all likelihood, under the weight of a debt of one thousand millions of dollars, (one-fourth of her entire public indebtedness,) created in the construction and sustenance of her "iron" and "wooden walls" since the year 1821! And yet this immense navy has accomplished since that time, including the late war, little more than nothing for the substantial good of the realm. Were it put up at auction, it would not probably sell for as much as the amount that is required to pay the interest for five years on its cost. It consists of 271 steamers, capable of carrying 3,986 guns, and 96 sailing vessels, capable of carrying 3,478 guns. A large steam navy would be to the Union a canker-worm, that would gnaw out, day by day, its very existence. To obviate this, and to render, at the same time, our position secure, we must construct vessels, both for the Atlantic and Pacific, which, while they will carry the OLIVE BRANCH of Commerce in the one hand, will carry in the other the SHEATHED SWORD. There is not a war steamer that floats that could resist such a vessel as the *Great Eastern*. She would proceed onward with her cargo "in the even tenor of her way," and so rapid would be her movement, and invincible her strength, as to enable her to run the most formidable of them down as easily as a Mississippi steamboat would a canoe that attempted to interrupt its progress. Well does the *Quarterly Review*, in this respect, remark of her:—"Can we, without a shudder, contemplate the possibility of a collision with such a resistless force?—a line-of-

battle ship, with a thousand hands on board, cleft in two as swiftly as the apple by the shaft of Tell!" The number of such vessels required for the weekly ferry service would inspire the utmost respect for the American flag in the Atlantic. Either could carry half our army, with the necessary artillery and horses, from any one point to another. Practical naval schools might be established in each of them, as relates to the attainment of knowledge of steam navigation. The young officers, in prosecuting their studies, could be as retired and as much to themselves, together with their instructors, as they are at Annapolis.

The idea of connecting the Chesapeake bay, by speedy steam communication, with a port facing it in Europe, has been cherished by me for the last thirteen years. But I had fears that such an enterprise would not be remunerating, inasmuch as the fuel consumed by steamships which make quick passages, weighed them down to such a depth as to prevent them from carrying cargo to a greater than a mere nominal extent. This is the case with all that have been running to the present time. When I heard that the father of Atlantic steam navigation had arranged his plan of the "big ship," I fancied that I beheld the proximate realization of my hopes for the glorious future of the slaveholding States—in one of which I drew my first breath, and in which, I trust, I may be permitted to draw my last—and I was seized with an unrelaxing solicitude to examine her gigantic proportions. The petty employment of petty office became as tedious to me "as a twice-told tale;" and after a number of vexatious efforts to be relieved of them, I finally succeeded in getting the President to accept my resignation on the 8th of May, 1855. Quitting Washington soon afterwards, and tarrying nearly a month at Richmond, Norfolk, Old Point Comfort, and other places on the James River and Chesapeake Bay, and a few weeks in New York, I embarked for Liverpool late in July, and in August found myself, with a friend, at Millwall, in the presence of the most interesting object, as far as completed, ever conceived by science—an object that was essential to inaugurate a revolution in the material and political well-being of the slaveholding States.

The mind of Washington was anxiously exercised to devise a plan for the development of the advantages which the Chesapeake Bay contained as an unequalled haven in the United States for commerce. "The Father of his Country" supposed that the Dismal Swamp and James river canals would render that water of infinite value to the South. He lived not, alas! to behold the steamer ploughing the main, or the locomotive walking over the earth. But may not his immortal spirit be looking with affectionate interest to the early realization of the

bright prospects which are now revealed to that region which he so much nourished and cherished in his retirement?—a region, to its glory be it ever said, in which the Anglo-Saxon banner was first planted on the American Continent, and in which the final blow was struck that won the independence of the Thirteen Colonies.

In the preceding address it has merely been my object to explain the nature of the proposed enterprise, and its paramount importance to the slaveholding States. In another communication I shall enter into minute details relative to the manner of carrying it into successful operation. I will now state, however, that every southern citizen who chooses may become a co-partner in it; that the shares will be issued for \$100 each; that no person shall be permitted to subscribe for two or more until all shall have had ample time to subscribe for one; and that each slaveholding State and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to one manager in the concern.

FINANCIAL CONGRESS AT BRUSSELS.

The Central Committee of the Belgian Association for the removal of Restrictions upon Trade, has called an International Congress, to be held at Brussels on the 22d, 23d, and 24th of September, to which are invited the scientific and practical men of all countries who are interested in the important questions raised by the commercial relations which nations sustain to each other. The object of this assembly will be to continue and complete the work of the Congress of Economists, which met in 1847. The circumstances under which that Congress met may be briefly stated.

The triumph of the Manchester league, and the reforms instituted by Sir Robert Peel, had aroused public opinion all over Europe, particularly in France and Belgium, and a warm controversy agitated the partisans of free trade and protection. Some Belgian economists, at whose head were Messrs. Hardy de Beaulieu and Ch. de Brouckere, conceived the idea of assembling, in one Congress, economists from all countries, where the question might be thoroughly discussed. One hundred and seventy economists, comprising political writers, manufacturers, agriculturists, merchants, members of the British Parliament of the French and Belgian Chambers, of the Institute of France, &c., responded to the appeal, and assembled in the Hotel de Ville at Brussels.

The discussion which took place during the three days' session of the Congress, resulted in the following declaration of principles: "The Congress of Economists, having examined

and discussed the general effects of free trade, as well as all the special questions which attach to it, are of the opinion that freedom in commerce is a necessity of human society, and that its effect will be, 1st, to draw into closer union nations, who, instead of becoming tributary to each other, will lend each other mutual support; 2d, to extend production and to protect industry against those violent shocks to which the restricted markets of prohibition are inevitably subject; 3d, to ameliorate the lot of the laborer by increasing the enjoyment to be obtained in exchange for his labor; 4th, to eliminate a constant cause of demoralization."

At this time, of all the European powers, England alone had frankly adopted the principles of free trade. The other nations seemed little disposed towards the doctrines of Cobden and his continental disciples. It will be of interest to trace the progress of public opinion on this subject during the nine years which have succeeded, and ascertain whether free trade continues to excite that repugnance which made Bastiat say, in a moment of despondency, "They are all against us."

In England, free trade has become a settled policy, which no one thinks of opposing to this day. The leaders of the protectionists, Lord Derby and Mr. D'Israeli, have ceased all efforts to arrest the movement, and by their own confession, it would be impossible to re-establish the former restriction in England. Indeed, since 1846, another fresh step has been taken in the direction of free trade, the act of June 26, 1849, regulating the merchant service, which effaced the last traces of Cromwell's famous Navigation Act, having completed the series of reforms inaugurated by Huskisson in 1825.

Two nations have almost literally followed England's example. Since 1849 Sardinia has completely revised her commercial maritime legislation. Holland had long been a convert to the principles of free trade, and the repeal of the Navigation act in England, a measure devised for her especial injury, determined her to modify the protectionist laws with which she had surrounded her merchant service.

France had been most hostile to the free trade reforms. In 1851, a proposition made by Sainte Beuve to revise the tariff was summarily rejected. In 1852, such was the distrust excited by the doctrines of free trade, that the *Senatus Consultus* of December 25th, 1852, giving to the Emperor the right of concluding treaties of commerce and of executing them without the previous action of the legislative body, was considered as a means by which the government could modify, without control, the custom-house taxes, and in order to dissipate the anxiety thereby occasioned, the President of the State issued a declaration, in which he eulogised the protective system.

Notwithstanding this declaration, the Imperial government has within three years modified the tariff system very considerably; many articles having been entirely stricken from it, while others have been materially reduced. Among the latter may be mentioned coal, iron, steel, tallow, and wood, any hint of a reduction in the duties on which would formerly have excited the most formidable opposition. The scarcity of food has furnished a reason for suspending the restrictive laws upon the importation of cereals and cattle, a suspension which may be indefinitely prolonged.

The restrictions on wines have been reduced in order to meet the deficit on home production, and imported rails made free in order that the railroads in progress may be sooner completed. The prohibition of the purchase of vessels abroad has been suspended, as also the duties on nearly all articles needed by shipbuilders. To complete the list of reforms, the draught of a law destined to remove from the French tariff every trace of prohibition has been sent by the government to the legislative body.

Other nations have, like France, been revising their tariff system. Since the conclusion of the peace, Russia seems disposed to enter upon the most complete reforms, and to open her frontiers entirely. In Sweden, the tariff was modified in 1852; in 1855, further changes were effected, and among others the duties on bar iron and clothing stuffs were removed. Norway adopted a similar policy in 1854.

Considerable changes have been made in the custom-house legislation of the Roman States, and of the kingdom of Naples. In Spain, the tariff of 1849 marked a step towards reform; and since the revolution of 1854, the various ministers of finance who have sought a remedy for the financial crisis of the Peninsula, have based their projects on a modification of the custom-house duties. A bill for the reform of the tariff was under discussion by the Cortes previous to the late disturbances. In Portugal, a Commission has been recently named to prepare the outline of a complete revision of the tariff of 1852. In Germany, the Zollverein is participating in the general movement, by removing all the interior custom-houses.

In Belgium, the Government has suspended the differential duties to which merchandise imported under a foreign flag was subject. The revision of the tariff is also seriously agitated; assemblies of citizens, interested in reform, have been held in many places, resolutions are voted, addresses are signed, and everything indicates that the Government will yield to the pressure of opinion.

The progress of the United States toward free trade is tolerably familiar to our readers. This tendency of the chief civ-

ilized nation of the world to remove the restrictions with which economists have insisted upon fettering commerce, is scarcely less remarkable for its unanimity than for the rapidity of its growth. Within a period of less than ten years, the system of protection, once universal, has apparently received its death-blow, and legislators and financiers seem now to differ only as to the expediency of a speedy or gradual reduction of prohibitory and protective duties. How far the Brussels Congress of 1847 has contributed to this result, it would be difficult to say. It certainly is entitled to a share of the credit, and will meet now under far more encouraging circumstances than on the former occasion, when its aims were deemed impracticable, and even revolutionary by the very governments which now most strenuously advocate them.

Undoubtedly the nine years which have elapsed between the two Congresses form one of the most important epochs in financial history; and it will prove a study of no little interest to trace minutely the causes which have contributed to bring about the reforms in the various countries in which they have been effected. The Congress will convene with more inclination to institute further reforms from the readiness with which all their previous suggestions have been finally adopted, and their proceedings may be looked for with unusual interest.

There never was a more favorable time than the present for an international discussion of the great commercial questions which unite and separate the great nations of the earth, and we trust measures will be taken to secure a suitable representation of the doctrines of commercial freedom from the United States, in the Brussels Congress.

BREADSTUFFS.

The returns from the wheat harvest of the United States are now complete, and it is settled that the crop is of most excellent quality, and if not the largest ever gathered since the settlement of the country, is at least above the average, and will yield a large surplus beyond the supply of our domestic wants. With the certainty of such abundance, the probable reliance to be placed upon an active export demand is a subject of much importance, and deserving serious attention. Our imports of foreign goods and merchandise for the eight months of the current year are larger than for any similar period in our history, the total being upwards of \$150,000,000; and although much of this increase has been in consequence of large exports of domestic produce to this date, yet, if these exports are to cease with the ingathering of the present harvest in Europe, it might take a larger portion of the receipts of gold than we could conveniently spare, to balance the ac-

count. Great Britain has always been the best customer for our surplus breadstuffs. To most other countries which take breadstuffs of us, our shipments of flour have been comparatively uniform, whether the crop was large or small, but to British ports the shipments have varied with the quantity we have had to spare, although averaging nearly half the total clearances for all foreign ports.

Brazil and the West Indies are regular customeres for our flour, as they purchase about the same quantity every year, and after Great Britain, take the largest quantity in a series of years; but a large portion of our shipments of grain (with wheat and corn) go to British ports. Thus of 18,583,151 bushels of wheat shipped to all ports from July 1, 1849, to June 30th, 1855, 14,061,212 were sent to Great Britain; and of 43,757,597 bushels of corn exported to all ports within the same period, 36,563,951 bushels had the same destination. We annex a tabular statement showing the exports from all ports of the United States to all foreign ports, of wheat, wheat flour, and Indian corn, both in quantity and value, from 1849 to 1855 inclusive, with a comparison of the quantity of each sent to Great Britain. The totals are all taken from official documents and may be relied upon as authentic, although it must be noted that of many direct clearances to Great Britain for orders, there are sometimes considerable quantities directed from thence to Continental ports. The "famine" of 1847 led to large shipments of breadstuffs, and to the inauguration of free trade in England, and we commence therefore with 1848-9, when the business had become settled under this system. The periods noted are the fiscal years, ending June 30th:

Exports from the United States, of Wheat, Wheat Flour, and Indian Corn, from 1849 to 1855, inclusive, for the year ending June 30.

	To Great Britain. Quantity.	To all For. Ports. Quantity.	Value.
1849.			
Wheat, bush.....	1,072,780	1,527,534	\$1,756,848
Flour, bbls.....	953,815	2,108,013	11,280,582
Corn, bush.....	12,396,242	13,257,309	7,966,369
1850.			
Wheat, bush.....	316,926	608,661	\$643,745
Flour, bbls.....	370,777	1,385,448	7,098,570
Corn, bush.....	5,957,206	6,595,092	3,892,193
1851.			
Wheat, bush.....	592,583	1,026,725	\$1,025,732
Flour, bbls.....	1,004,783	2,292,335	10,524,331
Corn, bush.....	2,760,329	3,426,811	1,762,549
1852.			
Wheat, bush.....	2,049,557	2,694,540	\$2,555,209
Flour, bbls.....	1,532,094	2,799,339	11,869,143
Corn, bush.....	1,894,700	2,627,075	1,540,225

	To Great Britain. Quantity.	To all For. Ports. Quantity.	Value.
1853.			
Wheat, bush.....	3,574,248	3,890,141	\$4,354,408
Flour, bbls.....	1,388,065	2,920,918	14,783,394
Corn, bush.....	1,653,840	2,274,909	1,374,077
1854.			
Wheat, bush.....	6,058,903	8,036,665	\$12,420,172
Flour, bbls.....	2,026,121	4,022,386	27,701,444
Corn, bush.....	5,965,850	7,768,816	6,074,277
1855.			
Wheat, bush.....	396,215	798,884	\$1,329,246
Flour, bbls.....	189,712	1,204,540	10,896,908
Corn, bush.....	5,935,284	7,807,585	6,961,571

The ordinary shipments in the past have not included anything direct for France. In the first year named above (1849) there were no exports of flour to French ports, and only 108 bushels of wheat; in 1852 the total includes 2,700 bbls. of flour and in 1853 only 8,784 bbls.; but in the year ending June 30. 1854, there were shipped direct to France 1,041,086 bushels of wheat, 728,279 bbls. of flour, and 39,400 bushels of Indian corn. In the following fiscal year (1854-5) the shipments of flour to the same ports had dwindled down to 8,557 bbls., and there was no shipment of wheat, but the exports of corn increased to 312,740 bushels. During the year 1855 the partial failure of the crops on the Continent of Europe, led to large direct shipments, and the total exports to France for 1855-6, not yet officially compiled, have been larger than ever before recorded to the same ports. As soon as the threshing of wheat commenced in the west and north of France in 1855, its bad quality and light weight created a general panic, and prices continued to advance up to the first of January. The abundance caused by the large receipts from this country, Spain, and other sources of supply, caused a downward tendency in prices throughout January, 1856, and everything was promising for the next harvest until the inundations in May. These checked the decline without wholly arresting it, but as the harvest approached, the hopes of an average crop became less sanguine, and it is now generally admitted that the supply will be deficient from five to ten millions hectolitres, that is, from fourteen to twenty-eight millions of bushels.

The quantity of arable land in France, is set down at 56,810,000 acres, of which fourteen millions hectares, or 34,580,000 acres are devoted to the culture of grain. The average annual product is 495,000,000 bushels of wheat, oats, rye, maize, and meslin—of which about one-fourth are oats, and two-fifths, or 198,000,000 bushels are wheat. With an average crop, France has heretofore been able, not only to supply her own wants, but to furnish about 5,500,000 bushels

of wheat (or its equivalent in flour) for the consumption of Great Britain. It is evident that this export trade must be cut off or greatly reduced during the current year, as the crop in France is below the wants of her own people. Indeed, the total exports to Great Britain from all French ports, for the year 1855, amounted to an equivalent of only 880,000 bushels, or about fifteen per cent. of the usual shipments, and this was all foreign produce, shipped from bond.

In Great Britain, the crop this year is very good, but it is never sufficient to supply the wants of the people. The total imports of breadstuffs into the United Kingdom for the last three years, (reckoning flour, &c., at its equivalent in grain,) are as follows:

Calendar Year.	Equal to bushels wheat.
1853.....	84,419,632
1854.....	63,267,240
1855.....	50,227,608

The high prices have contributed to reduce the imports into the United Kingdoms during the last two years to the lowest possible point; but for the first six months of the current year the total imports amounted to 1,859,000 quarters, showing an increase of 161,000 quarters, or 1,248,000 bushels, and must continue at about this rate throughout the remainder of the year. Even with a good harvest, the kingdom must need at least 40,000,000 bushels grain, or its equivalent in flour, for its own consumption. Of this amount, Russia, (Northern and Southern ports,) whose supplies were cut off during the war, can now furnish 10,000,000 bushels; Prussia (whose harvest is this year below the average) 10,000,000 bushels; all other countries, 5,000,000; leaving 15,000,000 to come from the United States. If prices rule at a comparatively low rate, the consumption will be increased, and the quota from this country may reach twenty or twenty-five millions of bushels. Spain and Portugal have hitherto exported to both France and England, the shipments to the latter, last year, being upwards of 4,000,000 bushels. This year, the harvests are there so poor that the export is prohibited, and supplies for consumption in the Peninsula are going forward from this port.

We see, therefore, that in addition to the demand for the breadstuffs from regular customers, we are likely to have an increased export trade to Europe, making the aggregate probably more than 40,000,000 bushels wheat and corn, or its equivalent in flour.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact production of the United States. The total arable land under actual cultivation is given in the Census of 1850 at 113,032,614 acres, of which 51,700,000 acres were producing breadstuffs. The following was the total production of grain as given in Census returns for 1840 & 1850:

	1840.	1850.
Wheat, bushels.....	84,823,272	100,485,944
Rye.....	18,645,567	14,188,813
Oats.....	123,071,341	146,584,179
Corn.....	377,531,875	592,071,104
Barley.....	4,161,504	5,167,015
Buckwheat.....	7,291,743	8,956,912
Total bushels.....	615,525,302	867,453,967

A very large amount of arable land has been brought under cultivation since 1850, and those most conversant with the West and its increased resources, think that the product of wheat has increased at least 50 per cent. since the date last given, while other grain has increased 20 to 25 per cent. The total yield of wheat being computed at 150,000,000 bushels, it is easy to see that the export demand can be filled without creating any extraordinary excitement throughout the country. Last year the farmers anticipated such high rates, that many of them refused to sell in time, and thus, to their great chagrin, were obliged to dispose of their stock at the close of the season far below the average price. This year early sales promise to be the best, but there appears to be a limit below which foreign orders would rapidly diminish any home accumulation. At present good white wheat is worth here about \$1 60, and good red about \$1 50. We scarcely expect to see a decline of 20 cents from these rates during the current season, but within that range an active foreign business may be expected. The prospects for Indian corn cannot be given until nearer the close of the harvest. Flour will fluctuate more than wheat in price; sales have been made to arrive in England at a price which would nett here about \$5 00 for standard superfine, but this is generally thought to be an inside price. We have compiled from the official records a statement of the average export price of flour in each year since 1800. The highest was \$14 75 per barrel, at which all the shipments averaged in the year 1817. The lowest was \$4 24, which was the average of 1852. The following is the average of the total shipments to all ports in each year for the last 20 years.

Yearly average price of the Exports of Wheat Flour from the United States to Foreign Ports, from 1836 to 1855.

Year.	Price.	Year.	Price.	Year.	Price.	Year.	Price.
1836..	\$7 50	1841..	\$5 20	1846..	\$5 18	1851..	\$4 77
1837..	10 25	1842..	6 00	1847..	5 95	1852..	4 24
1838..	9 50	1843..	4 50	1848..	6 22	1853..	5 60
1839..	6 75	1844..	4 75	1849..	5 35	1854..	7 88
1840..	5 37	1845..	4 50	1850..	5 00	1855..	10 10

The periods above noted are the Government fiscal years, ending June 30th. The average for 1856 is not yet made up, but will be considerably below that of 1855. If any think we have over estimated the present production of wheat in this country, we have only to remind them, that the cultivation of this grain for export received but little stimulus until the repeal of the English Corn Laws in 1847, and that the export trade has since rapidly grown into importance. This trade has contributed more to the importance of New York, as a commercial emporium, than is generally acknowledged, and is likely to increase in magnitude for many years to come.

CONSTRUCTION OF RAILROADS BY CORPORATIONS OR STATES.

COMPARATIVE VALUE OF CORPORATE AND STATE BONDS.

For the benefit of the citizens of our State, who feel an interest on the subject of Internal Improvements, I have prepared a table showing the value of Corporate Railway Bonds, compared with Bonds of the different States and of the United States. The table is made up from the exchange lists of the present month, June, 1856. In estimating the difference in value between the State and Corporate Bonds, I have aimed to be under, rather than over the mark. The rate of interest at which the value of all the bonds has been calculated and graduated, is *seven per cent. per annum.*

There are three States that have constitutional provisions in relation to their financial policy, and the power of the Legislature to contract public debt, viz: New York, Ohio, and Maryland. The first comparison I make, is of the Companies in those States, with the Bonds of those States respectively.

NEW YORK.

- A bond for 100 dollars of the State of New York, is worth \$23 50 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the New York and Erie Railroad.
- \$31 00 more than a 2nd mortgage bond of the New York and Erie Railroad.
- \$36 00 more than a 3d mortgage bond of the New York and Erie Railroad.
- \$27 25 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Hudson River Railroad.
- \$37 50 more than a 2d mortgage bond of the Hudson River Railroad.
- \$60 00 more than a 3d mortgage bond of the Hudson River Railroad.
- \$30 00 more than a bond of the New York Central Railroad.
- \$25 00 more than a 7 per cent convertible bond of the New York Central Railroad.
- \$45 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the New York and Harlem Railroad.
- \$31 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Buffalo and State Line Railroad.

MARYLAND.

- A bond of the State of Maryland for one hundred dollars, is worth \$22 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for the same amount.

OHIO.

- A bond for 100 dollars of the State of Ohio, is worth \$29 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Central Ohio Railroad.

\$29 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad.

\$57 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Cincinnati and Marietta Railroad.

\$36 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Cincinnati, Wilmington and Zanesville Railroad.

\$28 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula Railroad.

\$27 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad.

\$34 00 more than 1st mortgage bond of the Cleveland and Toledo Railroad.

The following table represents the excess in value of the State Bonds of the several States and of the United States over and above the value of the Bonds of the respective Railway Companies named in the margin:

	N. York.	Ohio.	Mass.	Maryland.	Tenn.	Kentucky.	Maine.	Georgia.	N. Car.	La.	Virginia.	U. States.
Balt. & Ohio 1st mort...	31	25	27	22	21	20	19	17	14	11	10	33
Chicago & Rock Island..	30	24	26	21	20	19	18	16	13	10	9	32
Illinois Central.....	40	33	35	30	29	28	27	25	22	19	18	42
Michigan Southern.....	34	27	29	24	26	22	21	19	16	13	12	36
N. Haven & Hartford...	36	29	31	23	25	24	23	21	18	15	14	38
Alabama & Tenn. River.	42	35	37	32	31	30	29	27	24	21	20	44
Northern Indiana.....	36	29	31	26	25	24	23	21	18	15	14	38
Central Ohio.....	50	43	45	40	39	38	37	35	32	29	28	52
Cin., Hamilton & Dayton	36	29	31	26	25	24	23	21	18	15	14	38
Cincinnati & Marietta...	52	45	47	42	41	40	39	37	34	31	30	54
Cin., Wil. & Zanesville..	42	35	37	32	31	30	29	27	24	21	20	44
Clev'd Painesville & Ash..	34	27	29	24	23	22	21	19	16	13	12	36
Indianapolis & Cin.....	42	35	37	32	31	30	29	27	24	21	20	44
Cleveland & Pittsburg...	35	28	30	25	24	23	22	20	17	14	13	37
Racine & Mississippi...	42	35	37	32	31	30	29	27	24	21	20	44
do. 2d Mortgage.....	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Cleveland & Toledo.....	41	34	36	31	30	29	28	26	23	20	19	43
Chicago & Mississippi...	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Covington & Lexington.	55	48	50	45	44	43	42	40	37	34	33	57
Del. Lackawana & West.	37	30	32	27	26	25	24	22	19	16	15	39
Ft. Wayne & Chicago...	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Great Western.....	37	30	32	27	26	25	24	22	19	16	15	39
Galena & Chicago.....	31	25	27	22	21	20	19	17	14	11	10	32
G'n B. Milwaukie & Chic	41	34	36	31	30	29	28	26	23	20	19	43
Jeffersonville.....	52	45	47	42	41	40	39	37	34	31	30	54
Indiana Central... ..	37	30	32	27	26	25	24	22	19	16	15	39
Indianapolis & Belfont'n.	46	39	41	36	35	34	33	31	28	25	24	48
Lacross & Milwaukie...	44	37	39	34	32	32	31	28	26	23	22	46
L. Erie, West'n & St. Lou	54	47	49	44	43	42	41	39	36	33	32	56
Little Miami.....	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Michigan Central.....	38	31	33	28	27	26	25	23	20	17	16	40
Milw'ke & Mississippi...	29	25	27	19	18	17	16	14	11	8	7	31
Ohio & Indiana.....	38	31	33	28	27	26	25	23	20	17	16	40
Ohio & Pennsylvania...	31	25	27	22	21	20	19	17	14	11	10	33
Pennsylvania Central...	31	25	27	22	21	20	19	17	14	11	10	33
Stubenville & Indiana...	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Terrehaute & Indianap'	29	22	24	19	18	17	16	14	11	8	7	31
Terrehaute & Alton....	50	43	45	40	39	38	37	35	32	29	28	52
Gal. Houst'n & Hend'son	62	55	57	52	51	50	49	47	44	41	40	64
Galveston & Red River.	67	60	62	57	56	55	54	52	49	46	45	69

The foregoing tables will, I think, plainly show to the minds of most men, and more especially to the minds of the planters, the propriety of using State Credit in the construction of Internal Improvements. The great expenditure necessary to be incurred in order to relieve, and give cheap transportation to the interior and back portions of the State, demands the adoption of the strongest financial agency. The right course, whatever it may be, should be boldly adopted by the State, and prosecuted to a successful termination.

I would think as much of a General, who on the eve of a battle, would dispirit his men by acts of cowardice or indecision, as I would of the politician who has "ideas" enough to perceive the right course on an important question of State policy, but from any cause would hesitate to pursue it. By resorting to a well guarded State credit as the agency for constructing Improvements, there can be saved, on the average, as the foregoing tables plainly show, more than *forty cents on the dollar*. From this we see that while States can construct *one hundred miles* of railroad with a given amount of their credit, *only sixty miles* can be constructed by *Corporate Companies* with an equal amount of *their* credit.

But this is not all; by keeping our public lands and reserving them from sale until the improvements are made, they will be of five-fold more value to pay off the debt, than they would be if sold *in advance* to raise money for expenditures. These considerations alone must make evident to all minds the great advantages which the State System has over corporate works in point of *economy*.

But the planter may ask, what is it to *me*, how much corporate companies pay for their roads, and whether these are more or less costly than those undertaken and built by the State? If the planter will only reflect for a moment, he will see that the tolls on his cotton, sugar, and plantation-supplies, pay for the roads at last, and also pay the income which the companies derive from their investment; and that it is a matter of very serious importance to him whether the road cost (say) \$4,000,000 when it might have been built for 40 per cent. less, (that is \$2,400,000,) and whether he shall be taxed in the shape of tolls to raise a yearly income, (say from four to seven per cent., as the case may be,) on the \$4,000,000, or on the \$2,400,000. If the planter wants cheap transportation, or low rates of toll on all that he sells and buys, he must see that the roads are built upon the most economical plan, and that is the State plan, as the foregoing tables plainly show.

I have in my hands full reports of the *Georgia State Road* from 1848 to 1855 inclusive. The history of this road is familiar to many, more especially to gentlemen coming from that

State. The lines of road in Georgia, which were of easy and cheap construction, and sure to pay handsome dividends, were constructed by incorporated companies. But the road from Atlanta to Chatanooga, a distance of 131 miles over an expensive route, was a scheme too discouraging for companies to undertake, and was therefore urged upon the State as a measure of State policy, though it was not expected that a revenue would be derived from the road at once. It was necessary in order to open to cultivation a large section of country, theretofore so remote from market as to be of little value. The road was built under many disadvantages, and we can now see not only its advantage to the State, but also that the State is reaping, as the fruits of its enterprise, a handsome income from the receipts of the road.

The following extracts are taken from the late report of the fiscal year, ending with the 30th of September, 1855.

Table, showing the income of the Western and Atlantic Railroad, during the fiscal years, ending September 30, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, and 1855.

Years.	Freight.	Passengers.	Mail.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1850-'51....	\$183,371 59	\$89,656 85	\$12,000 00	.....	\$285,028 44
1851-'52....	249,221 59	112,955 01	13,000 00	.....	375,176 62
1852-'53....	321,888 43	141,158 38	14,000 00	\$1,829 25	478,876 06
1853-'54....	395,956 31	169,335 10	13,933 20	11,880 17	591,154 78
1854-'55....	493,379 94	179,336 90	16,134 52	79 20	688,930 56

In another place, the report says:

"The very low ratio of working expenses to receipts, is a gratifying evidence of the fidelity and economy which have been practiced in the several departments of the road, producing a result which challenges comparison with the showings of the best conducted railroads, and would seem to refute the very general allegation, that so long as the proprietorship of a railroad is in a State, its affairs cannot be profitably administered. It need not be apprehended that too large a share of these expenditures has been carried to capital account, as it will be shown in the sequel of this report, that even when swollen by these additions, and others yet to be made to perfect its organization, the cost of the road will be but a meagre indication of its value, if that may be measured by the profits it is capable of earning.

COST OF THE ROAD AND OUTFIT—ITS VALUE.

Under this head, the report says:

"To arrive at this interesting item, (see Mr. George Young's report, October, 10th, 1856:)

We have amount expended up to September 30, 1853.....	\$4,578,544 80
Add amount expended during the year, ending September 30, 1854.....	324,542 34

Add amount expended during the year, ending September 30, 1855.....	239,308 12
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Amounting to.....	\$5,142,395 26
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Adding to this the estimated cost of work yet to be done toward permanent improvements, equipment yet to be procured, bonds to be redeemed as per foregoing estimate, say...	\$761,500 00
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And we have an aggregate of.....	\$5,903,895 26
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as the actual cost of the road and outfit, fully completed. The road has already earned an income equal to seven per cent. on that cost, and when it reaches five hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$550,000 nett) annually, as it assuredly will in 1858, it will yield a dividend of nine and one-half per cent. upon the investment.

"Why should it be valued then one dollar below that outlay? The estimates contemplate the road permanently improved, amply equipped for business, the outstanding bonds all redeemed with full allowance for depreciation of rails, decay of perishable structures, maintenance and renewal of machinery.

"The probably income is set down at a figure quite within a safe calculation, justified by receipts already realized, with moderate additions for the great accessions of trade, future, but not conjectural. Why, then, it is repeated, should Georgia value this splendid property of hers at one per cent. below its cost? If ever there was a reasonable question of its success, it cannot be doubted now that it is realizing the high destiny for which it was projected."

Had this splendid work been undertaken by private enterprise, discouraging as it was in the commencement, the probability is, that it would have bankrupted company after company, and its bonds would have been forced on the market, to raise money for construction, at 70, 60, or even 50 cents on the dollar. Instead of the road costing (as it now has cost) \$45,000 to the mile, it would have equalled in cost the Erie or Hudson River Railroads, which cost from \$71,000 to 85,000 *per mile*. The work in the hands of the State, has been carried to a successful and happy termination. Thus it is seen that Georgia saved her public spirited citizens from individual sacrifice, prosecuted a work which injured no one, but benefitted all; and the citizens of that State can look with pride upon the success which nothing but the superior financial resources of the State could have achieved. Such will everywhere be the result under a State system properly devised, and steadily and perseveringly prosecuted.

I have often heard the politician, the speculator, and even men sincere in their remarks, hold forth to the public that the Georgia State road was a *failure, and a heavy expense upon the State—that the Legislature had tired of its management and advised its sale.* But, from the foregoing report, it can be seen that such is not the fact; on the contrary, the road is now paying 7 per cent, (nett) profit to the State upon the investment, and will in the year 1858, pay 9½ per cent.; at which time, the State can well afford to reduce the tolls, giving to the planting interests of the State the benefit of such reductions in the cost of transportation.

GALVESTON, TEXAS, June 25, 1856.

SENTIMENTS OF THE SOUTH.

In our May No. was published a short account of a Kansas meeting held in New Orleans, in which the Editor of the Review was enabled to take part. That meeting was, we are glad to find, but the forerunner of a very large and enthusiastic one, in which all parties united, and in which the most wholesome Southern views were taken. We may hereafter refer to the speeches of Messrs. Christy, Chilton, and General Morse, and to the patriotic letter of Maunsel White. At present we can only give some of the resolutions which were adopted:

1. That the scheme organized in New England under the pretense of settling Kansas, but really with a view of driving from its territory all settlers who are not in favor of the prohibition of slavery, is indirectly in violation of the mutual good faith between the Northern and Southern States, on which the Constitution rests, is injurious and insulting to the Southern States, and is not only calculated, but deliberately intended to disturb if not wholly to destroy, the fraternal relations hitherto cherished between citizens of the free States and slaveholding States of the Union.

4. That for every drop of Southern blood murderously shed by Northern emigrants upon the soil of Kansas, the South ought to devise such mode of redress as will punish the outlaws, aiders, and abettors thereof and to adopt such retaliatory measures as will "plague the inventors" of "emigrant aid societies," and to avenge the numerous victims of their diabolical designs.

5. That a committee be appointed by the President, at his leisure, with general powers, and especially to solicit subscriptions of money and other "material aid," to be applied to the payment of the expense of emigrations from the South to the Territory of Kansas, of such persons as desire to acquire pre-emption rights there and who are also willing and able to defend that article of the Constitution which says: "A well regulated militia being necessary for the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

6. That we recognize and will entertain no feeling of amity or plan of compromise with such of the Northern States as systematically assail our institutions, and encourage the spoliation of our rights; and that we regard them, so long as they persevere in this unwise and unjust course, as the irreconcilable enemies of the Southern States.

7. That if the Northern States persist in their present crusade against Southern rights, it is the duty of the Legislature of each Southern State to take such steps as will divorce the South from the North, "peaceably, if they can; forcibly, if they must."

8. That the Governor of this State be, and he is hereby, requested to correspond with the Governors of all the Southern States, with the view of creating a concert of action among the several Legislatures thereof, upon this subject, and, if necessary, in his opinion, to convene our Legislature for the purpose of deliberating and determining upon the measures necessary at the present crisis.

The readers of the Review are aware that we have felt constrained of late to indulge in very strong language in relation to the peculiar state of the times. On this account we have received a large number of letters from all sections of the country, endorsing, with but one or two exceptions very fully our course. These exceptions are scarcely worth a moment's consideration. No truth can be so obvious, and no principles so clear, but what there will be found, if pains is taken to hunt him up somewhere a skeptic. Thus a writer in Louisiana cuts our acquaintance: "Deeming the articles you publish, and to which you admit no reply, on the subject of the relations of the North and the South, incendiary in their character, and calculated, if not intended, to familiarize the idea of a dissolution of this Union, I can no longer conscientiously contribute to its support."

Another writer from Texas objects to the article in our August number, entitled "The Union and its Compromises," that it erroneously refers to the Constitution. We cannot see, however, that the argument of the author, which we have neither approved or disapproved, is at all affected by this, since every one will admit it to be quite as impossible to revive the slave trade by act of Congress as by amendment of the Constitution.

Our Texas friend says: "If the author of that article will examine, he will find that the African slave-trade is prohibited, not by the Constitution, but by law. Congress had no power, under the ninth section of the first article of the Constitution to prohibit the importation of such persons prior to the year 1808, but there is no provision which required them to pass such a law at any time; and the act of 22d March, 1794, and the subsequent acts which render the slave-trade piracy, are subject to be repealed at any time, like any other laws, by a bare majority of Congress."

Having given the exceptions, we would take up a few from the mass of approvals which cheer us in our course. A writer from Cheraw, S. C., says: "I wish you every success in your laudable objects, and take occasion to congratulate you upon the zeal and ability with which your work is carried on."

Another from Linden, Alabama, says: "Please continue to send it, as I would regard its loss as a serious gap in my leisure readings. I regard it as the most noble work of the kind ever published in this country."

Another from Pickens county, Alabama. "I appreciate the effort you are making in defence of Southern institutions in these 'perilous times,' but alas, what tide of abolitionism has been turned away by your earnest appeals to the magnanimity, the justice of the North."

Another from Plymouth, North Carolina. "I value your Review as the best paper now published in the United States, and look on it as the only expose of Southern views and Southern interest, and should be liberally sustained."

Another from Autauga, Alabama. "My situation is such, that I feel that I should curtail all my expenditures possible. I will get you *two more* subscribers, and hope to be one again in two years from this time. With the greatest desire for the widest circulation of the great Southern work."

One from Richmond, Virginia, writes: "Your Review meets my entire approbation in principles so far as the *South* is concerned; I read it always with much interest; by the way, allow me to repeat a remark of a friend of mine which has frequently been my own—'The Review will talk more *sensé* in one number than &c., &c.' I shall endeavor to induce others to read and subscribe to it."

Another from Alabama. "I shall continue to subscribe for your Review as long as it continues to be what it now is, the most valuable periodical published in this or any other country."

Another from Georgia. "I have continued to take it for its able defence of the South upon the slavery question, as well as the valuable statistical information it contains."

Another from Louisiana. "I need not particularize. It is well that you give such articles as often as possible to raise the sphere of circulation for your work, so that it may answer the ends of a quarterly in the great elaboration and extent of the articles."

Another from New England. "I have read it in former years, with much satisfaction, but now like it still better. If we can but force (the Review) it into New England, it will do great good, and root out the benighted and horrid prejudices that have seized the land. Since taking this number in hand, I have resolved to appropriate \$50 or \$100 this year in fertilizing the land. If you will have the goodness to send me a list of your New England subscriptions (which I think are few and far between) I shall not run the risk of sending to any that already take it."

Another from Milledgeville, Georgia. "No party in England ever designed or wished to injure us half so much as the majority of the present generation of Northern men do. Sir, I am for Union with friends; war with enemies. This is my household politics, and though I may not swear my sons to Hamilear's oath, yet fidelity to the principles of my forefathers, requires of me the duty to send forth the eight children of my house well imbued with this doctrine.

"Sir, if no good change comes over the North, I am satisfied that our malicious and ambitious brethren of New England will very soon force us to seek the more profitable and more enduring and more inviting friendship of our cousins of Old England and of France. England and France are the natural allies of the South. We are their customers, the Northern States are their rivals. England and France want and must have our cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, while we want their manufactures in return.

"Provincialism is all that the Northern majority now offer us for the Southern States. I rebel against any proposition, open or covert, to turn the Southern States into *Provinces* of a great Northern dominion.

These sentiments of approval in our labor combined with those of Members of both Houses of Congress from the South, to be found in the card on the fourth page of our cover, are sufficient encouragement, and are such as impel us to renewed efforts.

EDITORIAL, BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

Household Mysteries; A Romance of Southern Life, by Lizzie Petit, of Virginia; Author of *Light and Darkness*; New York, D. Appleton & Co., 346 & 348, Broadway.

In these times, when sectional questions are so active, the mere title of a book will attract attention, when otherwise it would pass without notice. Sketches of Southern or Northern life hinge always upon slavery or its opposite, and such is the taste for this class of reading, that books of the kind continually multiply. We have not read the one before us, but are willing to admit it to be quite as interesting as any of the class.

Early History of the University of Virginia, as contained in the letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell; hitherto unpublished, with an appendix, consisting of Mr. Jefferson's bill for a complete system of education, and other illustrative documents; and an introduction comprising a brief historical sketch of the University, and a biographical notice of Joseph C. Cabell. J. W. Randolph, Richmond, Virginia.

A Biographical Sketch of Henry A. Wise, with a History of the Political

Campaign in Virginia, in 1855; to which is added a Review of the position of parties in the Union, and a statement of the political issues, distinguishing them on the eve of the presidential campaign of 1856, by James P. Hambleton, M. D. J. W. Randolph, Richmond, Virginia. 1856.

Mr. Randolph has now the merit of being the largest Southern publisher. He deserves unlimited encouragement; it is our misfortune to have few such men. In our advertising pages appears a list of some of his publications. The works are all of a standard and valuable character. The *History of the University of Virginia*, as embodied in Mr. Jefferson's letters, is full of light and instruction. The *University* is a monument to Mr. Jefferson that will be as lasting as the Declaration of Independence. It is an institution now flourishing beyond any example at the South; every year adds to it larger numbers and greater influence. Its faculty increases. Let the South look to it as the English do to Cambridge or to Oxford. It is time to call home our youth from north of Mason & Dixon's line. Subject them no more to the poi-

son of Yale and Amherst, and even Harvard. Their Professors sign incendiary addresses, or vote Sharpe's rifles. The volume of Wise's Biography and the Virginia Campaign, is also a book full of political wisdom. Mr. Wise, with much of the erratic genius of Randolph, has proved himself capable of Herculean labors, and a southern patriot without blemish. In periods of great peril, such men find their high mission.

The London Quarterly Review for July, 1856. Leonard, Scott & Co., New York, send us regularly their reprints of Foreign Reviews; the works are cheap, and may be read with profit by every class of persons. They are comparatively free from offensive references to our people and their institutions.

Bankers' Magazine.—The Publisher of the Bankers' Magazine has in preparation for the press a List of Private Bankers in the various towns and cities of the United States, and will be glad to receive early information as to the recent establishment of responsible banking firms in any of the States—particularly in California, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Missouri, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, &c., where the most frequent changes take place. The list, which will be contained in one of the early numbers of the Bankers' Magazine, when published, will be a valuable one for all banking firms.

Letter from Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, to the Bishops of the other Southern States. The Bishop, with great power, argues in favor of educating our Southern ministry at home, and in favor of a great Southern university for that purpose. His letter is marked with patriotism no less than religious zeal; we may yet publish it entire. He says, "Our children are expatriated or sent off to an inconvenient distance, beyond the reach of our supervision or parental influence, exposed to the rigors of an unfriendly climate, to say nothing of other influences not calculated, it is to be feared, to promote their happiness or ours."

Maryland and Delaware Railroad. We are indebted to Gen. Tilghman for a copy of his report as President of the company, with a report of Walter Gwynn, the engineer, and shall make some use of its statistics hereafter.

Barnes' School Books.—A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, whose advertisement

appeared in our last number, sends us several recent issues of their valuable School publications, to wit: "Self Culture in Reading, Speaking, and Conversation, by William Sherwood."

"The Word-Builder, by Richard G. Parker, A. M." "Brookfield's First Book in Composition, on a new plan."

"Elements of Logic, by Rev. James R. Boyd, on the basis of Wm. Barron."

"School Arithmetic, Analytical and Practical, by Charles Davies, LL.D."

"Elements of Criticism by Henry Home, Lord Kame, edited by James R. Boyd."

"An Improved System of Geography by Francis McNally." Messrs. Barnes also furnishes us their Catalogue of Standard School publications, which embraces the most popular works in every branch of knowledge. We shall refer to it again more fully.

"*Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses,*" by Agnes Strickland; vols. 3 and 4; New York, Harper & Brothers. More elaborate notice reserved for our next.

"*The Home Circle,*" Nashville, Tennessee;

"*The Farmer and Mechanic,*" Nashville, Tennessee;

"*The University Magazine,*" Charlottesville, Va.; are welcomed to our editorial table; they are enterprises of comparatively recent date, and are entitled to encouragement from the Southern public.

The Female Poets of America, by RUFUS WILMOT GRISWOLD. Illustrated with Portraits from original artists. New edition; revised, enlarged, and brought down to the present time. 1 vol. 8vo. Cloth. Philadelphia; Parry & McMillan.

A splendid volume, and one which ought to be found in every good collection of American Works.

We shall again refer to these volumes of Mr. Griswold.

We have received a copy of the *Banker's Almanac* for 1856, published by J. S. Homans, New York, containing—

1. A List of Private Bankers in the United States and Europe, South America, etc. January, 1856.

2. Table of Monthly Quotations of Stocks for 1855, at New York.

3. Premium Essay on Banking—"Suggestions to Young Cashiers on the Duties of their profession."

4. List of Banks in the United States; Names of President and Cashier of each; Amount of Capital of each.

5. Usury Laws of every State in the Union, with penalties for violation thereof; Rate of Damages on Protested Bills of Exchange, allowed by statute of each State, (including the recent Laws of Illinois, Georgia, California, Wisconsin, etc.)
 25 Copies forwarded by mail, to order. Price, \$1.12, including postage prepaid.

TO ADVERTISERS.

We want advertisements; they help us to pay expenses and support the Review. We want Southern advertisements; and, if we take any others, it is because the Southern people, though frequently solicited, have given us few, or none. Do not the merchants of Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, and Memphis, desire to extend their business into the interior as much as the merchants of the North do. Do not our Schools and Colleges want students, our machinists want orders, our watering places guests? Gladly would we occupy all our advertising pages with the cards of Southern men. Our prices are low; they will be found stated on the last pages of the September No. We take a limited number of advertisements, let them come from where they may, except from freesoilers or abolitionists.

OUR SUBSCRIPTION DUES.

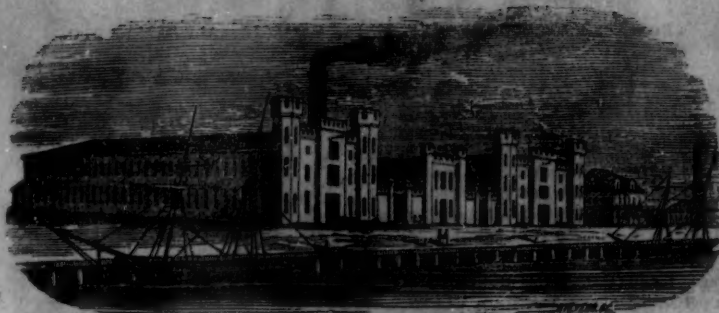
Nearly all of our subscribers have been addressed by letter on this subject. The Volume began with July, and the rule of prepayment is an essential one. Northern publications all insist upon this, and get it. Ought not the South to be as equitable to its own laborers? Thanks to those who have promptly responded. Will not every true friend of the South feel it a duty to do the same? Hundreds of our subscribers are indebted for several years. If errors creep into our accounts, we correct them upon the statement of the subscribers. If we are earnest in pressing collections, it is because the matter is one of vital consequence. Drafts upon merchants, payable several months hence, can be used by us as cash. Friends, give this your prompt attention, and if you approve our work, help us, too, to extend its circulation.

TREDEGAR ROLLING MILLS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

We call attention to the advertisement of Messrs. Morris and Tanner in another column. For many years these Works have supplied most of the Chain Cable used by the Navy of the United States, together with the Iron required for constructing Vessels, Docks, &c.; and from many tests instituted by the Government in its various Departments, it is the strongest rolled iron ever submitted to tests there. In addition to Bar Iron of all descriptions, every article, required by Railroad Companies, made of iron, is manufactured at these Works, and supplied on as good terms as by any Northern establishment, and of superior quality—any, Railroad Spikes and Chairs, Bridge Bolts, Railroad Axles, &c. And we would advise our Railroad agents, before contracting for these articles, to call on Messrs. Morris & Tanner and examine those manufactured by them, and think we hazard nothing when we assure our friends that no manufacturers in this country are more reliable than they are, either as to punctuality and fidelity in executing contracts, or in the quality of the work they supply. In addition to this, the signs of the times admonish us, that it is our true interest to encourage Southern enterprises, especially when we can do so on advantageous terms.

ERRATA.

The article on the Union and its Compromises, in our August number, is from the pen of James V. Lyles. On page 184 of that article, read "there are some points of agreement between both the North and Great Britain and the South and Great Britain."



BELLVILLE IRON WORKS, ALGIERS, LA.,
(Opposite New Orleans.)
COOK & FALLON.

Iron founders and manufacturers of steam engines, sugar mills, vacuum pans, cotton presses, saw mills, draining machines, and machinery of every description. Iron and brass castings made to order. Steamboat, cotton press, railroad, and plantation work executed with care and the utmost despatch. Metallic and composition packing for steam cylinders, of all kinds, made to order at the shortest notice. Grate bars of various patterns and styles; stirrups, flange bolts, &c., constantly on hand. Iron fronts and builders castings furnished with despatch and in the best possible style; and Boiler work of every description.

These works are located on the river bank, and have an excellent wharf belonging to them for the accommodation of steamboats and vessels. They are close to the depot of the Opelousas railroad, the track of which connects with the works.

EXTENSION TABLES, ENAMELED
SUITES, ETAGERES, IRON SPRING
ARM CHAIRS & LOUNGES, ROSE-
WOOD, MAHOGANY AND BLACK-
WALNUT PARLOR SUITES, in Bo-
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HIGH POST BEDSTEADS, SECRE-
TARY and LIBRARY BOOK CASES.



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WAREROOMS,
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And 159 Chambers Street.
W. H. LEE. J. M. OTTER.

Every variety of SPRING BEDS and
MATTRESSES. At our two Stores can
be found the largest and best assortment
of Cabinet Furniture in the city.
159 Chambers street, and
199 Fulton street,
NEW YORK.

GOOD MEDICINES.



It is estimated that **AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL** and **CATHARTIC PILLS** have done more to promote the public health than any other one cause. There can be no question that the Cherry Pectoral has, by its thousands on thousands cures of Colds, Coughs, Anthrax, Croup, Influenza, Bronchitis, &c., very much reduced the proportion of deaths from consumptive diseases in this country. The Pills are as good as the Pectoral, and will cure more complaints.

Everybody needs more or less purging. Purge the blood from its impurities. Purge the bowels, liver, and the whole visceral system from obstructions. Purge out the diseases which fasten on the body to work its decay. But for disease we should die only of old age. Take antidotes early and thrust it from the system before it is yet too strong to yield.

Ayer's Pills do thrust out disease, not only while it is weak, but when it has taken a strong hold. Read the astounding statements of those who have been cured by them from dreadful scrofula, Dropsy, Ulcers, Skin Diseases, Rheumatism, Neuralgia, Dyspepsia, Internal Pains, Bilious Complaints, Heartburn, Headache, Gout, and many less dangerous but still threatening ailments, such as Pimples on the Face, Worms, Nervous Irritability, Loss of Appetite, Irregularities, Dizziness in the Head, Colds, Fevers, Dysentery, and indeed every variety of complaints for which a Purgative Remedy is required.

These are no random statements, but are authenticated by your own neighbors and your own Physicians.

Try them once and you never will be without them.

Price 25 cents per Box—5 Boxes for \$1 00.

Prepared by **JAMES C. AYER**, practical and analytical chemist, Lowell, Massachusetts, and sold by **Z. D. Gilman**, Washington, D. C.; **Purcell, Ladd & Co.**, Richmond; **Haviland, Harbald & Co.**, Charleston, S. C.; **Joseph Tucker**, Mobile, Ala.; **J. Wright & Co.**, New Orleans, and by all respectable druggists.

**TREDEGAR
ROLLING MILLS,
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.**

We continue to manufacture at these Works all sizes Bar Iron of the best quality; also, Railroad Spikes and Chairs, Rolled Axles, Bridge Bolts, &c.

We think that our Spikes have some advantage over all others, in this, that the points are a perfect taper, made very sharp, and are upset under the head, where the greatest strength is required.

Our Axles have been in use nearly twenty years on the heaviest Roads in this country, and if one has ever failed we have never been apprised of it, although we agree to replace any such with a new one.

Our Iron stands an extraordinary test for Chain Cable, which we have been manufacturing for the United States for many years, showing its adaptation for Railroad Bridge Bolts, Depot and Suspension Rods, which we can furnish of all lengths up to thirty feet.

MORRIS & TANNER.

References:

Col. F. C. Arms, Superintendent and Chief Engineer Memphis and Ch. Railroad Company, Memphis, Tennessee.

Messrs. Cook & Fallon, New Orleans.

FOR SALE.

Two well settled cotton plantations on Red River, on and near Long Prairie, with open land and accommodations for 100 negroes on each; also, about 7,000 acres uncleared and adjoining, with wide river fronts, and capable of division into many plantations, with high and healthy summer retreats near. Mr. Richard Blanton there will show these lands. For terms or other information, apply to

JAMES S. DEAR.

MOBILE, Feb., 1856.

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RECEIVING AND FORWARDING MERCHANTS,
MOBILE, ALA.**

**WILLIAM WILKINS & CO.,
STEAM CURLED HAIR MANUFACTURERS.**

Southeast corner of Charles and Pratt sts.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

Keeps constantly on hand a large stock of the finest quality of Curled Horse Hair, and Cat-tle Hair, also Mixed and Hog Hair. Orders sent through the mail will be immediately attended to. The highest prices will be paid for all kinds of Raw Hair.

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Lithographers, Engravers, and
COLOR PRINTERS,**

No. 154 SECOND STREET, BALTIMORE.

Execute Maps, Charts, Plates, Diplomas, Portraits, Drawings of Machinery, Public Buildings, Steamboats, Landscapes, Bills of Lading, Checks, Promissory Notes, Drafts, Bills of Exchange, Business, Visiting, & Invitation Cards, Labels, &c., at the shortest notice, and on the most reasonable terms.

The extent and completeness of our Establishment, together with our experience acquired during a connexion of twenty years with the above business in Baltimore, will enable us to guarantee entire satisfaction in every branch of our art; and returning our thanks for the very liberal patronage bestowed upon us, we hope still to receive, and shall endeavor to deserve, a continuation of the same.

UNION WORKS, BALTIMORE.

**POOLE & HUNT,
IRON FOUNDERS
AND GENERAL MACHINISTS,**

MANUFACTURERS OF
Steam Engines, Mill Gearing, Gas Works, Railroad Cars and Car Wheels, Blowing Machinery, Hydraulic Presses, Sugar and Saw Mills, Machinists' Tools of all kinds, Shafting, Pulleys, and Hangers, Steam Boilers, Water Tanks, &c.

**CHARLES C. REINHARDT,
CUTLER AND SURGICAL INSTRUMENT**

MANUFACTURER,
No. 7, N. Gay street, near Baltimore street,
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Keeps constantly on hand a large assortment of SURGICAL AND DENTAL INSTRUMENTS, at the lowest cash prices.

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**SADDLE, HARNESS, TRUNK,
AND COLLAR FACTORY,**

*Entaw House, No. 8 west of Entaw street, near
Baltimore street, Baltimore, Md.*

E. KNOTTS.

Manufacturer, calls the attention of the Southern traveller, and the public generally, to his stock of Saddles, Harness, Trunks, and Collars, as he will sell bargains wholesale or retail.

**UNITED STATES HOTEL,
AUGUSTA, GA.,**

F. M. JENNINGS, Proprietor.
Board \$1 50 per day.

**BROWN'S HOTEL,
Opposite the Passenger Depot,
MACON, GA.**

E. E. BROWN & E. ISAACS, Proprietors.
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Meals ready on the arrival of every Train.

BUSINESS DIRECTORY—BALTIMORE.

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WINES, BRANDIES, SEGARS,
ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN, AND ITALIAN
PRODUCE,
AND RARE ARTICLES OF LUXURY.

P. TIERNAN & SON,

No. 12 North Charles street, Baltimore,

We offer for sale, from store and United States bonded warehouse, in quantition
to suit purchasers:

MADEIRA WINES from the house of J. Howard, March & Co., Madeira.

SHERRY WINES from the house of Vinda De X. Harmony & Co.

HOCK AND MOSELLE WINES from the House of Menkell & Co., Mayence.

CHAMPAGNE WINES from the House of Moet & Chandon, Epernay.

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BORDEAUX AND CLARET WINES from the house of Foeke & Branden-
burg, Bordeaux.

BURGUNDIES from the house of R. Bruninghaus, Nuito.

BRANDIES from the house of Otard, Dupuy, & Co., J. Hennessy & Co.,
Foeke & Brandenburg.

Together with a large stock of ITALIAN, HUNGARIAN, SICILY, MALAGA,
and LISBON WINES, received directly from the oldest and most highly
European houses.

The careful attention we have given the importation of RARE ARTICLES OF
LUXURY enables us to offer the products of England, France, Germany, and
Italy at the most moderate prices. Our

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Contains the various sizes of all the celebrated factories in Havana; and the
annual visit of one of our firm to the Island of Cuba, gives us advantages pos-
sessed by few houses in any of the more northern or eastern cities.

**THE TEA, COFFEE, AND EAST INDIA GOODS
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Is large and varied, consisting of the finest chops of OLONG, CHALAN,
POWCHONG, SOUCHONG, ENGLISH BREAKFAST, IMPERIAL, GUN-
POWDER, and HYSON TEA—MOCHO and JAVA COFFEE—SPICES, &c.

A liberal discount given to the Trade.

Printed catalogues, when desired, can be had free of charge.

Persons entrusting their orders for direct importation will be charged a small
commission.

P. TIERNAN & SON.

TEXAS—GENERAL AGENCY.

ESTABLISHED 1842, BY A. F. JAMES, CITY OF GALVESTON.

CAPITALISTS and others wishing to make investments, can always find at this office a list of improved and unimproved Real Estate for sale, consisting of building lots suitable for stores and private residences; also, cottages and desirable family residences in the city and suburbs. Conveyancing, and all other instruments of writing, legal or commercial, carefully and neatly drawn on paper or on parchment.

Land Titles examined, and defective Titles perfected, when practicable. Title-papers, and other instruments, recorded in any of the record offices throughout the State.

Orders for the purchase or sale of slaves, or real estate, faithfully executed. Sugar and cotton plantations, and unimproved lands in various sections of the State for sale. Claims against the Republic of Texas, and against private individuals, received for collection and prosecuted. The payment of taxes in all the counties of the State carefully attended to; and property which may have been sold for taxes in the several counties redeemed. Maps of all the principal counties, with the original surveys, are now preparing for this office; and abstracts of all original land titles granted by the State of Coahuila and Texas, and by the late Republic of Texas, can be examined at the General Agency Office.

The undersigned have known Mr. A. F. James, as a citizen of Galveston, for the last eleven years, during most of which time he has been engaged in the above business, for which we believe him well qualified, and recommend him to such as require the services of an Agent in Texas as a gentleman in whom the fullest confidence may be reposed.

EDWARD HILL, *President Galveston Chamber of Commerce*; J. BATES, U. S. M.; M. B. MENARD, *President Galveston City Company*; JOHN C. WATROUS, *Judge of the District Court of the United States*.

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Matheson's Digest of the Laws of Virginia; vol. 1; \$6; postage 50 cts. (Vol. 2 is now printing.)

History of the Political Campaign in Virginia in 1855, with a portrait and sketch of the life of Governor Wise. A volume of over 500 pages, octavo, price \$3 50; will be published in March.

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An elegant and varied assortment of the above goods, guaranteed to be fully standard quality. E. D. being a practical and experienced watchmaker, he can with confidence assure the public that all watches put in order by him will perform correctly.

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HYDE & GOODRICH,

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This firm has been established nearly forty years, and is very extensively known throughout the southeast for the superior quality of all their goods, and especially for the excellence and accuracy of their watches.

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(Successors to S. Masperean & Co.,)

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Portrait and Pietao Frames made to order. Old Frames re-glazed.

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MACHINERY AND SUPPLIES,**

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In the Store, a full assortment of
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Trip Hammers, &c., &c.,
Bolts, Nuts, Washers, Rivets, &c.,
Wrought Iron Tackle Blocks,
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Furnished at short notice, to order,
Steam Boilers,
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F A C T O R I E S .**

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CANADIAN
VERMIFUGE
A CERTAIN
REMEDY FOR WORMS.**

This Vermifuge will
always expel worms
in from two to five
hours after being ad-

ministered; it is also
safe in its operation,
and more easy given
than any other.

Winer's Vermifuge has now stood the test for several years, and being proved superior to any
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This may appear strong language; but it is not stronger than we are warranted in using, and
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purpose for which it was designed.

Thousands of certificates could be published, if it were necessary, to prove the statements;
but a single trial will prove its superiority more conclusive than the strongest assertions or
statements that could be written. Try it.

Be particular and remember the name "Winer's Canadian Vermifuge." This is the only
article that can be depended upon. Remember this.

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HALL & HILDRETH, Proprietors.

PAGES

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which have given such universal satisfaction throughout the Union. They manufacture three classes or sizes of Mills; also, *Steam Powers* of all sizes and kinds, as Stationary and Portable, and received the Premium of a Gold Medal therefor, at the late Fair of the Mechanics' Institute, for their superior excellence.

Among their portable Engines, is one of ten horse power, gotten up expressly for Plantation and Farm purposes, viz: for sawing lumber, grinding, thrashing, &c., as is emphatically a Portable Machine, calculated to be hauled by four or six horses anywhere.

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**HORSE POWERS OF THREE SIZES,
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They are agents for

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They have made many improvements on their *Circular Saw Mills* since they were first invented, and which render them now perfect in all their details, and justly entitle them to rank first amongst the labor-saving machines of the age.

As the Patent Right of their Saw Mills is the joint property of the concern, no assignment or transfer of any right or rights will be valid unless signed by a majority of the members of the firm. A pamphlet descriptive of their several classes of Mills, prices, terms, capacity for sawing, and of their Engines and other machinery, will be sent to any gentleman applying by letter for the same.

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JOHN T. JETER.

NEW ORLEANS, October 17, 1855.

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MODERN IMPROVED PIANO FORTES,
WITH OR WITHOUT THE ÆOLIAN.**

Manufactory and warehouses Nos. 156 and 158 East 31st st., between 2d and 3d avs., New York.

The manufacturer now being enabled to announce in his own name the modern improved Piano which though of his own manufacture, (owing to terms of contract,) has heretofore been known and become (because of their merits) justly celebrated under another title, would invite the attention of purchasers to their examination at his warehouses as above. Also would caution the public against buying Pianos bearing the name of a "well known dealer," on the strength of testimonials obtained solely on the merits of the William Miller Piano, as they will hereafter bear no other than his own name. For power, richness, and brilliancy of tone, elasticity of touch, beauty and durability of make, and every quality rendering the Piano a desirable instrument, they are known to rank among the first and most celebrated makes of the day.—Each instrument warranted to give entire satisfaction or the purchase money refunded.

The trade supplied on the most liberal terms.

A large discount given to schools, teachers, and clergymen. Circulars and schedule of prices forwarded to any address, post paid.

BISHOP DEHON'S SERMONS.


In press, and will shortly appear, SERMONS, by the late Theodore Dehon, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina. To be comprised in two large 8vo volumes, printed in the best style, and bound in cloth, \$5; half calf, \$6 50; full calf, \$7 50; and Turkey morocco, 12.00. Each volume to contain Fifty-five Sermons ten in each, from Manuscript furnished by the family.

THOS. N. STANFORD, 637 Broadway, New York.

L. C. CANFIELD.

W. B. CANFIELD.

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 **CANFIELD, BROTHER & CO.,** No. 229, Baltimore street, corner of Charles street, WHOLESALE IMPORTERS, MANUFACTURERS and dealers in WATCHES, JEWELRY MILITARY, and FANCY GOODS, SILVER and PLATED WARE, REVOLVING PISTOLS, RIFLES, CUTLERY, &c.

We have received from all parts of the world, the largest and greatest variety of rich, rare, and curious articles ever imported into this city, many of which are truly elegant. We name a few of the leading articles: Watches of a superior quality, from London, Liverpool, Geneva, and Copenhagen; gold chains and chatelaines, set with diamonds, pearls, rubies, &c.; Paris and Geneva jewelry, of the newest styles, consisting of full suits and single pieces of enameled, pearl, rubies, carbuncle, coral, &c.; superb jewelry from Vienna, entirely new; London and American jewelry in great variety; diamond articles, such as bracelets, ear rings, scarf pins, &c., some of which are set in pure California gold, and manufactured on our premises by first class workmen; premium silver ware, a choice collection of articles, viz: pitchers, cake baskets, tea caddies, napkin rings, salt cellars, coffee and tea sets, tea kettles, card stands, ink stands, vases, sugar boxes, desert knives, spoons and forks, vegetable, salad, asparagus, ice and sugar tongs, cake, pie, ice cream, pudding, fish and butter knives, goblets, cups, tumblers, money boxes, whittlers, crackers, spoons, oyster ladles, pickle knives and forks, of sterling silver; Sheffield and Birmingham plated goods; albatra spoons, forks, ladles, castors, cake baskets; splendid mantel clocks from Paris, bronzes from Paris and Berlin, Dresden China goods, rich and large size vases, Parian marble goods, new patterns, papier mache goods, fancy goods, viz: opera glasses, port folios, writing desks, work boxes, segar cases, snuff boxes, splendid fans, tortoise shell combs, portmonies, card cases, gold thimbles, solid mounted dressing cases, ladies' companions, and an endless variety of articles, which are now opened, and offered at prices which cannot but give entire satisfaction. All articles from our establishment guaranteed as represented, or the money returned.

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The Trade supplied at the lowest wholesale importing rates.

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PERFUMERS AND MANUFACTURERS OF

FINE EXTRACTS FOR THE HANDKERCHIEF, COLOGNES, POMADES, HAIR
OILS, ANTIQUE OILS, &c., &c., in great variety. Also,
PROPRIETORS OF LYON'S KATHAIRON, &c.

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as we are enabled to offer them *superior inducements*. We are constantly adding to our *Cat-*
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MANY, BALDWIN, & MANY,

49 John street, New York,

Keep constantly on hand a large variety of

HARDWARE,

SUITSABLE FOR

BUILDERS, ARCHITECTS, AND OWNERS.

They would call particular attention to their

RICH PORCELAIN AND PLATED GOODS,

EXTRA HEAVY PLATED DOOR HINGES,

HANDSOMELY DECORATED AND RICHLY PLATED DOOR KNOBS, BELL PULLS,

BELL LEVERS, BRASS AND SILVER PLATED FRENCH WINDOW

BOLTS, RICH PORCELAIN AND EXTRA PLATED

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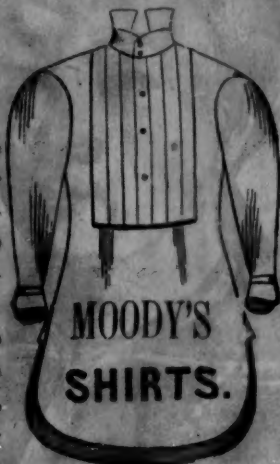
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USURPING EMPEROR OF CHINA.

We publish, says the Ladies Wreath, New York, as a great curiosity, the following characteristic letter, received by our friend Dr. J. O. Ayer, of Lowell, Mass., from the rebel chief, or usurping Emperor of China, in acknowledgment for quantities of his Cherry Pectoral and Cathartic Pills, the Doctor sent him as a present.

TO DR. AYER IN AMERICA: *The great curing Barbarian of the outside country:*

Your present of sweet curing seeds and fragrant curing drops, of Cherry smell, has been brought to Hug-sen-Tsene, the mighty Emperor (Kwangto) of the terrible, stout Ming dynasty, by the grace of heaven revived after an interval of ages—Prince of peace (Ta-ping-wang) of China, the Central Flowery Land. He directed his powerful mandarine to give them to the sick according to what the Interpreters read from your printed papers. Be profoundly happy, O wise Barbarian! for I, Yang-sen-Tsing, say it! Your curing seeds and sweet curing drops were giving to the sick in his army of the Winged-Sword, and have made them well. Be profoundly happy while you live for this is known to the Mighty Emperor of China, who approves your skill, and permits you to send more of your curing medicines for his fierce armies of myriads of men.

They may be given to Chiang Lin, Chief Mandarin of the Red Button at Shanghai, who will repay you with Tea, or Silk, or Gold. The high mandarins of China have heard of your great knowledge, surpassing all other foreigners, even aspiring to equal the divine wisdom of our own healing teachers, who make remedies that cure instantly. We are glad to know you bow in trembling terror before our Mighty Emperor.

Written by Yang-sen-Tsing, minister-in-chief of the restored Imperial Dynasty.

(Translated by the American Consulate at Hong-Kong.)

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